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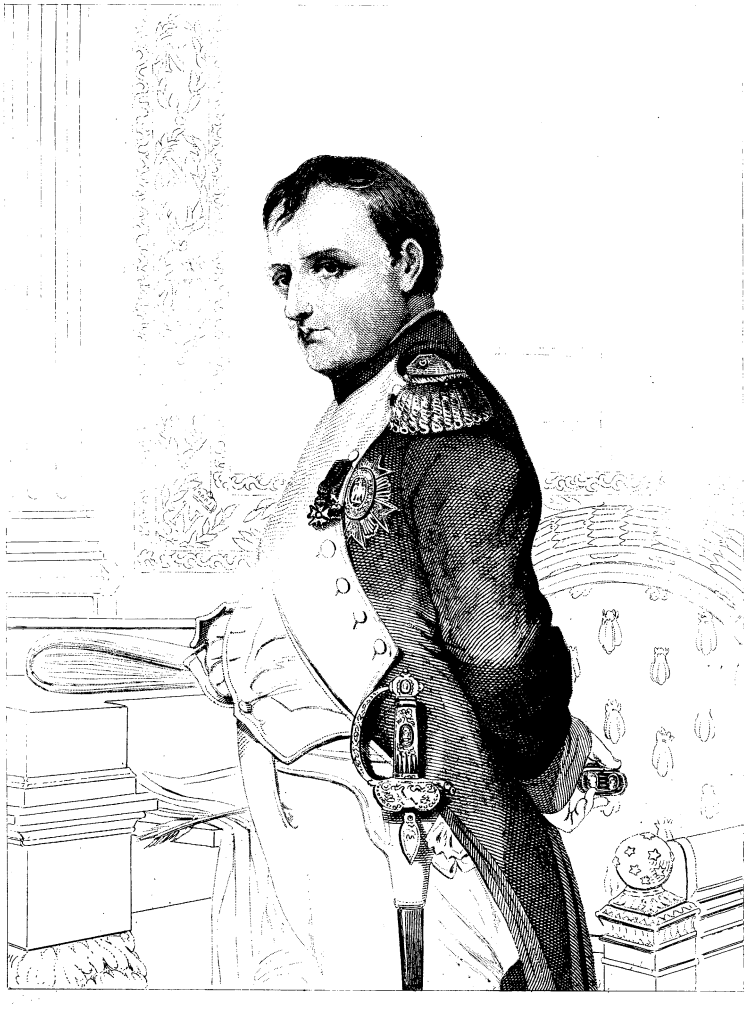

NAPOLEON.

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NAPOLEON

AND

THE MARSHALS

OF

The Empire.

TWO VOLUMES COMPLETE IN ONE.

WITH FINELY-ENGRAVED PORTRAITS.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
1855.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

"I WILL record the deeds which we have performed together," were the parting words of the emperor to his old guard at Fontainebleau, in 1814, when he thought that the play was over. But the curtain rose again, as suddenly as it had fallen: the last and most dazzling act of the wonderful drama was yet to be exhibited, before the performance was ready for the critic: and Napoleon, in the end, imperfectly accomplished his purposes, by hasty and interrupted dictations, at St. Helena, to Montholon, Gourgaud, and Las Cases; which, however, though requiring frequent verification, and calling for some caution in the use of them, are yet the true sources of the history of their author, and have been followed, as closely as practicable, in the present work.

To form a just notion of the military character, either of Napoleon or of his marshals, it is necessary to consider them in their relations with one another, as forming parts of the greatest organization for war that modern history displays. The peculiarity of Napoleon's military system, after he became emperor, consisted in distributing his forces into permanent *corps d'armée*, similar in their constitution to the Roman legion; each corps consisting of about thirty thousand men, in four or five divisions, and having an artillery, a cavalry, a reserve, and a commissariat, of its own, and forming, therefore, a complete army in itself, capable of acting independently. The command of one of these corps, subordinately to the general orders of the emperor, formed the proper function of a marshal; and it is, as moving in such a sphere, that Napoleon's marshals should be viewed, in justice either to themselves or to the sagacity which selected them for their positions. With one or two exceptions only, none of them have just pretensions to be considered in the light of generals-in-chief: yet they were all admirably adapted — some by their peculiar merits, and some by their peculiar faults — to fill their places in the combination which the genius of the emperor had appointed; and in

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the selection of them for particular duties, the judgment of their great chief was always conspicuously displayed. It is in the management of such a vast system of armies, too, that the singular faculties of Napoleon, for complicated operations upon an immense scale, are most eminently displayed. No mind but his own, perhaps, and no military organization but such a one as he had contrived, could have planned or executed the great combination of movements which resulted in the capture of sixty thousand men in Bavaria in 1805.

The number of marshals created by Napoleon was twenty-six. Of these, eighteen were appointed on the 19th of May, 1804, the day after his accession to the imperial title: they were, Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Perignon, Serrurier, the last four of whom were then members of the senate. Victor received his baton on the 13th of July, 1807, in acknowledgment of his merit at Friedland. Macdonald, Oudinot, and Marmont, were appointed on the 12th of July, 1809, a few days after the battle of Wagram. Suchet's elevation took place on the 8th of July, 1811; and St. Cyr's on the 27th of August, 1812: the former for services in Catalonia, and the latter on account of achievements in Russia. Poniatowski received this honor on the 16th of October, 1813, for his valor on the first day of the battle of Leipsig. Grouchy was enrolled in the illustrious order during the "hundred days." Of these twenty-six, two were killed on the field of battle — Lannes at Essling, and Poniatowski on the retreat from Leipsig. Of the whole band, two now survive — Soult and Marmont.

In the life of Napoleon, in this work, the early years of the emperor, and the circumstances of his rise to distinction, are traced with particular minuteness, because they have been the subjects of injurious misrepresentation. The Italian campaigns of 1796 and 1797, and the campaign of France in 1814, are detailed with great fulness, as being, upon the whole, the most extraordinary exhibition of his military genius and energy of character. The other campaigns — those, for example, of Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram — being episodes, as it were, in his political history, are thrown into the biography of the marshal who was most distinguished on the particular occasion. But each campaign is described in reference to the emperor as the centre of operations, and not in reference merely to the marshal concerned; for that would have produced a distorted and partial view. Though the learning and abilities of various writers have been laid under contribution in the preparation of the work, it is hoped that the labors of the editor have been successful in preserving connexion and unity throughout.

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NAPOLEON.

More than half a century has passed away since the Revolution of France burst upon the world, in mingled terror and magnificence, fascinating half mankind by the wildness of its promises, affrighting the other half by the novelty of its principles, and striking and awing all by its power, its grandeur, the suddenness of its origin, and the uncertainty of its result. Yet, the causes, the true character, the ultimate effects, of that memorable occurrence, still stand unexplained and inexplicable—the insoluble problems of social philosophy. A thousand pens have traced the progress of its incidents; the intelligence of many nations has explored its spirit; the antagonist theories of conservatism and progress have thrown their strongest light upon it; the rhetoric of admiration and of scorn, alike, has been exhausted in its contemplation: but no real advancement has yet been made in defining the nature of the elements that entered into that phenomenon, or determining the laws of their action, or bringing the subject into any rational relation with former experience. The organization into which society in France suddenly resolved itself, and the action which it developed for twenty years, are in opposition to all the prin-

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ciples of political science with which we are elsewhere familiar. That revolution defies reduction into the same formula with other historical events; it baffles all analysis; it violates all analogy: nay, it seems even to thwart and mock observation itself, for it moves within itself with such bewildering mechanism that we can not see it as it was, nor state the fact which we are undertaking to explain. Like a force from another sphere, coming athwart the politics of Europe, it passed across the field of history, a prodigy to the past, a terror to the present, an amazement and a mystery to all future times.

Fortunately, the political questions connected with this event—which, if they are of vital importance, are of an uncomfortable interest and an almost hopeless difficulty—form no part of the present subject. The picturesque view of this mighty progression of passion and power is to be found in its military aspect; and it is with that alone that we are now concerned. If the social characteristics of the revolution perplex our reasonings, and its moral tempers repel all sympathy, its military character redeems it into the cognizance, and comprehension, and respect of mankind. In whatever circumstances of system or accident that movement had its origin, it soon assumed the attitude of a military antagonism to all Europe and perhaps all the world. War seemed to be the sanity and the civilization of a social life, which, under the stress of any less earnest discipline, lapsed into madness from an excess of energy. The military interests of the French nation during this time are therefore the most cheerful and genial of all others: they are the regulated vehemence of a vital force that else would be convulsive and pur-

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poseless. They are the human workings of a power which in its other manifestations almost passed out of mortal responsibility. They reclaim France into the family of nations, and bring her back upon the platform of familiar history. With the revolution itself we have nothing to do at present, except as it furnished the field upon which the military evolution which we describe took place, and contributed the moral force which made the enterprises and the characters of that period so strenuous and splendid.

The view which a commercial and industrial age takes of war is, perhaps, as far removed from permanent truth, as that which a military society entertains respecting trade and mechanics. To one who gets beyond the feelings and theories of a particular age and country, and looks upon the history of the world, from an abstract and positive point of view, war must present itself as one of the great and regular agents of providential operation, and one of the established and permanent conditions of human society. Upon this subject, we must keep the distinction which the Author of all truth has taught us to make, between the qualities of his conduct, by whom events come, and the character of those events, as appointed and indispensable parts of God's benignant providence to men. The same act may be a crime in him who does it, and a blessing to all who partake of it: the same occurrence may be a millstone upon the conscience of its author, and a life-giving source of goodness, and strength, and happiness, to all who come within its influences. The wickedness of him by whom war comes, is no stain upon the glory of the war when it has come, nor upon the virtues of those who are com-

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pelled by duty, or urged by the noblest sentiments of our nature, to take part in it: nor are the brilliant aspect, or the valuable results of war, any remission of the guilt of him by whose selfishness, or profligacy, or thoughtlessness and folly, the war was brought about. In old and great capitals, the conflagrations which have taken place from time to time, are connected with the improvement of the city in beauty, comfort, and wealth, and are regarded by a remote posterity as beneficial occurrences; yet this can not dignify the baseness, nor redeem the indiscretion, nor discharge the sin, of the incendiary by whose hand the fire was lighted. Leaving, therefore, the personal accountability of the authors of a war to be judged by a rule which will dispense approval or condemnation, according to the objects which justified, or the feelings which sanctioned, or the necessity of circumstances which required it, we may hold up war itself, in its historical view, and as connected with the evolution of nations, for the respectful contemplation of the philosophic mind, and for the admiration of those who would reverently behold the scheme of Providence, and would view the dealings of Him who makes the wrath of man to praise Him, by illustrating His wisdom, displaying His power, and accomplishing His purposes.

It is a theme full of interest and grandeur. The history of war is a record of the fate of opinions, and principles, and social feelings, and political tendencies All the great ideas and impulses that agitate communities report ultimately to the battle-field; and the issues of combat have determined the progress of religions, the influence of governments, and the direction and extent of civility itself. But it is the reaction of

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foreign hostility upon the domestic character and internal relations of a country which is most fitted to excite the admiration of the student, and the attention of the statesman. War seems to be indispensable, not only to develop and set in action all the forces of national strength, but to knit communities together into the organization of national life. It is in war, and by war, that constitutions form themselves. Those admirable, complex schemes of modern polity, which give such advantageous issue to social action and individual enterprise, are all the result of military relations: nor do we know of any other process by which a political system can be constructed, than by the creative and combining influence of protracted and repeated wars. War, therefore, is not an exceptional incident; it can not be regarded as a mistake of policy, a fault in legislation, an accident of human progress, or a disturbance in national affairs. If it be not "the natural state of man," it may properly be called, as to many stages of their history, the normal state of nations. Their advancement and fullest vigor — their highest intelligence, their keenest enterprise, their most genuine art — are identified with their most militant eras: their languor and decay — the decline of invention, the lapse of morals, the debasement of originality, and the loss of tone — are consequent upon a long prevalence of peace. The climacterics of a nation's life can not well be accomplished under other conditions; and a people feeling "the madness of superfluous health" and strength, and prepared to pass into a more developed stage of existence, can as little refrain itself from war, as an individual, in like circumstances, can abstain from exercise and action. Our own country contrib-

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utes to an illustration which is supplied from all history, ancient and modern. We owe the American Union and Constitution to the war of Independence: they never could have been effected without the organizing influences of that process, and without the institutions which it forced into being, and the interests which it multiplied around them. The war with Mexico—self-made—into which the nation unconsciously and instinctively rushed—has already effectively changed the constitution of the United States, and is destined to form a memorable era in our domestic annals.

Such being the political and social functions of war, it is not surprising if those who exhibit its science and control its forces, and are surrounded with the lustre of its glory, command, beyond every other class of the community, not only the wonder of the people, but the attention and deference of enlightened and judicious persons. The profession of arms—upon the first scale of greatness—takes up in itself the peculiar powers of almost every other profession. It implies such complexity of duties—such diversity of operation—such contradictory combinations of ardor and control, of energy and moderation, of terror and conciliation—such mastery of that essential wisdom which is disclosed by action only, and can be learned neither from meditation nor from books—that a consummate general may perhaps be regarded as the most exalted and complete personage that the world can see. The moral discipline of war, too—the insensible operation of sublime scenes of danger, effort, endurance, and responsibility, in throwing dignity into the temper, and cleansing the passions, and bringing out genuineness of nature—are such as to make the

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character of the soldier the most engaging and delightful that we know. It appeals to all the romantic that lingers in our fancies—to all the heroic that we cherish in our hearts. Ages of tutelage under civil institutions have not been able to educate us out of that sentiment with which the race set out—the instinctive consciousness of our feelings—that war is the true profession of a gentleman, and that the man-at-arms is the only hero. It is a mysterious brightness that is reflected from the sword—and those upon whose career it is thrown, become invested with an interest, which no familiarity abates, and no philosophy can destroy.

The events to which these volumes have reference, exhibit all these interests in the greatest range and magnificence. In no scene of history, is the pageantry of war displayed in forms so imposing and with a splendor so transcendent. By no previous circumstances, is the science of war illustrated in such extent, variety, and depth. At no other time, and in no other place, may the student explore, with such distinctness and illumination, the philosophy of war, and trace so well, the intimate and inseparable connexion between politics and the battle-field—the mutual dependence of the social condition of a people, and their military relations. The eye, the feelings, and the mind, alike, are stimulated and gratified by the survey. The empires of Europe, vital with the deeper passions, the more vivid intelligence, the inexhaustible, personal, material, and scientific resources, of the nineteenth century, at once reassumed the attitude of the feudal ages: and society exhibited the picturesqueness of mediœval life, with the force and refinement of the

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highest civilization. The strife was not, like most of the military agitations of which the world has seen, a struggle between a vigorous young people, and a decaying kingdom whose hour had come: it was a contest of equals, and of the greatest equals—of nations in the full fervor of growing life. The strife, too, partook of a deadliness which had never before been seen. It bore no resemblance to those exercises in arms—those rehearsals of battle, in which, through the preceding century, royalty had been wont to breathe its spirits and exhilarate its mind. The origin and impulses of that tumult of nations were in the depths of the soul's darkest passions: it was the civil war of the world—a revolt in civilization. Principles and opinions seemed to descend upon a human arena, and marshal nations as their champions; and the contest was less a collision of arms than a conflict of systems. Marengo, Austerlitz, Waterloo, interest us, not merely as trials of personal valor and great rivalries of national strength, nor yet as combats, upon whose result depended a consular or an imperial dynasty, but as contests upon which the progress of society waited, and the destiny of humanity itself stood suspended.

The individual genius which typified the great interests that were thus in combat, and became the focus of the intelligence and feelings of the various nations whose life was thrown into the arena, was on a scale worthy of the grandeur of the operations, and events amid which it moved. On the one side, England sent forth in her naval and military chiefs, the loftiest and most accomplished of her heroes; one of them representing the daring and enthusiasm of her ancient heroism, the other an express image of her modern, cold,

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business-like, but indomitable temper and ability;—Austria gave a soldier to whose career perfect science, and unfaltering duty, imparted dignity even in defeat,—and Russia showed with what terrible energy imperial power can move, when it is winged by the resentments of a barbarian soul. On the other side, the lustre of a mysterious interest, gathers about him who, calm and self-dependent, was the centre, the author, and the object of all this terrible array, and from him is reflected upon the group of heroes who were the illustrations of his power, and the instruments of his will. The nation seemed to be charged with the genius of Napoleon; and Napoleon's genius to be fired by the inspiration of superhuman passion. On the part of France, it is a contest in which the agents are human, but the interests and the powers are more than mortal: the force of phrensy seems to be the moving energy of the action, and the illumination of intellect to be its guiding light. The characters, the incidents, and the achievements, seem to be dilated into a spectral exaggeration and brilliance: Truth loses the features of Probability, and the Impossible seems to become the Real.

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NAPOLEON'S EARLY YEARS.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE* was born at Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769. Romish historians take notice that Loyola's birth was in the same year with Luther's; Providence, as they observe, having directed that the appearance of a great enemy of the church upon the earth should be accompanied and counteracted by the presence of the most efficient servant that the papacy ever had. It is a fact scarcely less striking that, on the 1st of May, 1769, just three months and a half earlier than Napoleon, Arthur Wellesley was born at Dangan Castle, in Ireland;—the man whom circumstances connected so strikingly with the fate of Napoleon—who, in early life, confronted him distantly in the East—then broke up all his plans in the south of Europe, and, finally, met him face to face on the field where he contended for empire and liberty. It is somewhat remarkable, too, that in the year 1783, while Napoleon was at Brienne, Wellesley was pursuing his studies at the military school of Angers, in France, under the celebrated engineer, Pignerol.

* The name, as Italian, is spelt, indifferently, Buonaparte or Bonaparte. Napoleon's father used the former mode; his great-uncle, Lucien, archdeacon of Ajaccio, the latter. Napoleon, during his youth, and while in command in Italy, followed his father's example; but afterward adopted the French orthography, and wrote his name Bonaparte.

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The descent and social rank of the Bonapartes have been variously misrepresented. During the consulate, a genealogy was published by some one, in which the family was derived from the northern kings of Europe. Napoleon caused this pretension to be ridiculed through the newspapers with such effect that it was not revived. "The nobility of the first consul," it was then officially announced, "bears date from Montenotte." On one occasion, in conversation, Napoleon spoke of himself as having been "a poor Corsican gentleman:" but there was nothing vulgar in his origin or early associations. His family was of Tuscan origin, and said to be allied to the Medici, Orsini, and Lomellini; and in the middle ages its members had ranked among the distinguished houses in the Bolognese and Trevisan territory, and in Florence had figured as senators and as prelates. The Corsican branch of it was founded, in the fifteenth century, by Charles Bonaparte, a younger son, who took refuge in the island when expelled from the latter city as an adherent of the liberal and defeated party of the Ghibellines. Napoleon's father, Charles, had been carefully educated at Rome and Pisa, where he studied the law. He was tall, and extremely handsome, possessed of an active and enterprising spirit, and distinguished for his eloquence. In the campaigns of 1768 and 1769, in which Corsica contended unsuccessfully against France, he was the friend and companion in arms of Paoli, and shared his final defeat, in the latter year, at Ponte Novo. His wife was Letitia Ramolino, a Corsican lady, descended from a noble family of Naples, and celebrated alike for beauty, and for force and dignity of character. The children of this marriage were, besides five who died in infancy—

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Joseph, the eldest, afterward successively king of Naples and of Spain; Napoleon; Lucien, prince of Canino; Louis, king of Holland; Jerome, king of Westphalia; Eliza, grand-duchess of Tuscany; Pauline, princess Borghese; and Caroline, the youngest, wife of Murat, king of Naples.

The circumstances of Napoleon's birth had some of the characteristics of his subsequent career. After the battle of Ponte Novo, his father had retired to Porto Vecchio, intending, with Paoli, to seek refuge in England; and his mother, who had followed the headquarters of the army during the last unfortunate campaign, returned to Ajaccio. Here, while attending the celebration of the mass, on the feast of the Assumption, she was surprised by the first pains of labor. She hastened home, and reached a sofa, in her parlor; and when her attendants found her the infant was born, and the mother had fainted. The story of the tapestry of the apartment being adorned with figures from the Iliad, is a silly fable.* The father soon after yielded to the persuasions of his uncle, the archdeacon Lucien, and abandoned his purpose of emigration. It was owing to the failure of his patriotic efforts, that the future emperor was a native of France, and not an alien: in fact, Corsica did not become a part of France until June, 1769, about two months before the birth of Napoleon. The second sons of this family, for several generations, had borne the name of Napoleon, which was derived from an ancestor in Italy, and said, by Napoleon himself, to have been adopted from the Orsini and Lomellini families, in

* In a conversation with General Lee, at Rome, in 1830, the mother of Napoleon, in giving this account of the birth of her son, expressly contradicted the story about the tapestry being ornamented with designs from the Iliad. The story arose from an idle *peut etre* of Las Cases.

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which it was used; and in accordance with this custom, so unusual and striking a name was given to the infant. Some years afterward, when he was confirmed at the military school in Paris, the archbishop expressed his astonishment at the name, and said that he knew of no such saint — at least, that there was no such name in the calendar: the boy promptly replied, that that could be no rule, since the number of saints was immense, and the number of days only 365. At a later period, the pope fixed the *fête* of this saint, who had before been a stranger to the Roman calendar, on the day previously dedicated to the Virgin, which was the birthday of the emperor, and the day on which the concordat was signed. From the searches made in the martyrologies at Rome, it appeared that Saint Napoleone was a Greek martyr.

After the subjection of the Corsicans, the policy of France was to treat the island, not as a conquest, but as a province. Accordingly, they established a local parliament, such as existed in the old provinces; and they continued the existing executive magistracy of twelve nobles, among whom was Charles Bonaparte, who, further to conciliate the patriot party, was soon after appointed assessor of the royal court of Ajaccio. In 1779, a deputation was sent to Versailles from the parliament of Corsica: a Casa Bianca was chosen deputy for the commons, the bishop of Nebbio for the clergy, and Charles Bonaparte for the nobles. Taking with him his sons Joseph and Napoleon, to be educated in France, he passed through Florence, where the Grand-Duke Leopold gave him a letter to his sister Marie Antoinette, by whom he was kindly received, and entertained as a guest at Versailles. Joseph, be-

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ing intended for the church, was placed at a classical academy in Autun, and Napoleon was admitted, April 23, 1779, as a king's scholar, at the royal military school at Brienne. There existed, at this time, a strong rivalry between M. de Marbeuf and M. de Pellet, generals in authority in Corsica; and the representations of Charles Bonaparte, at the French court, in favor of Marbeuf, proved of so much value to his interests, that his nephew, who was archbishop of Lyons, and minister of ecclesiastical affairs, acknowledged the service by giving Napoleon letters of recommendation to a noble family, named Marbeuf, at Brienne, which introduced him, with superior advantage, at that place.

Ætat. 10.

The eagerness of mankind to discover and believe the marvellous, has always caused the boyhood of eminent persons to be searched for incidents which might indicate a peculiar destiny, or give mysterious token of future celebrity. In these investigations, attention has often been given to circumstances which had no true relation with the later distinction of the man. In Napoleon's case, the stories that have been told of his enterprise and daring at Brienne, are merely such as might be collected of any lively and spirited boy, and have little connexion with the qualities by which he rose to empire. So far as youth foreshowed or prepared his splendid career, the true omen, at Brienne, of his subsequent greatness, is to be found, not in his marshalling his fellows to the attack or defence of a snow-fort, nor to his undermining the wall of the college-grounds, that the boys might visit a fair without transgressing an order not to pass the gates, but in the instinctive tendency of his mind to mathematical study,

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and the extraordinary proficiency which he made in it. The true secret of Napoleon's supremacy through life, lay in his possessing an understanding of the first order of analytical acuteness, rapidity, comprehension, and correctness; and the type of all sound reasoning upon profound combinations, is the mathematics. This test of native subtlety, vigor, and justness, in the action of the mind, the boyhood of Napoleon met and answered: it was the branch of study in which he was particularly conspicuous. The anecdotes which record the sensitiveness with which he felt and repelled the sarcasms which were made at his Corsican origin, are of some value, as showing, in early keenness, that quick resentment which, through life, kept up the recollection of an Italian origin. There were also some manifestations in youth of that peculiar susceptibility of nervous organization, which has often been noted in connexion with great mental faculties. On one occasion, when the quartermaster had condemned him, by way of punishment, to wear the serge-dress of a penitent, and to take his dinner on his knees at the refectory door, the disgrace affected him so distressingly as to bring on a violent retching and a severe nervous attack. The head-master, passing by, relieved him from the degradation, and Father Patrault, the professor of mathematics, was indignant at finding his first mathematician treated with so little consideration. That persistency of temper, which formed so marked an element of his rise, as well as of his ruin, seems to have been early observed. Pichegru, afterward the conqueror of Holland, and one of the ablest generals of the age, was then a charity-scholar at Brienne, and arithmetical tutor to Napoleon. When he joined the royalist army, he was

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consulted as to the probability of gaining over the young general-in-chief of the army of Italy. "It would be a waste of time to attempt it," replied Pichegru; "from my acquaintance with him as a boy, I am sure he is an inflexible character: he has taken his resolution, and he will not change it." His temper at Brienne was reserved and solitary: he devoured books of every kind, and was to be considered an unusually eager and devoted student. In later years, he remembered Brienne with more feeling than any other scene of his youth; and some of the most interesting traits of his character are displayed in his allusions to it. In the trying campaign of 1814, he pointed out a tree, near Brienne, under which, when a boy, he had read the "Jerusalem Delivered," with unbounded delight. The sound, also, of the evening bells of the same place, which he had so often heard in youth, touched that strong, stern heart, to a sensibility of which few would have deemed it capable.

A certain number of pupils, selected by the inspector of military schools, were annually sent up from Brienne to Paris, to complete their education. The post of inspector was at this time filled by the Chevalier de Keralio, a general officer, and the author of a work on military tactics, who had conceived a high admiration for Napoleon, and singled him out to be sent up, at a time when he was somewhat under the usual age, and was not much distinguished for anything but mathematics. The monks suggested that he had better be left another year; but Keralio would not agree to it. "I know what I am about," said he; "if I transgress the rule, it is on account of the youth's merit only; I know nothing of his family. I see in

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him a spark of genius which can not be too early fostered." The chevalier died suddenly, before his determination was accomplished, but his successor, M. de Regniaud, carried his decision into effect; and in October, 1784, Napoleon was tranferred to the royal school at Paris. There, his superiority in mathematics, and the ambition of his temper, continued to be noted. The celebrated Monge, his instructor in geometry, formed a high opinion of him. M. de l'Eguille, the teacher of history, affixed to his name in the class-book, "A Corsican by birth and character; he will distinguish himself, if favored by circumstances:" a discriminating and philosophical remark, of which he used afterward to boast as having been a prediction of the future glory of the emperor. He cultivated rhetoric also; and misled by erroneous models, indulged in a style of oriental amplification, of which in maturer life he never entirely got rid, and which, if it aided his fascination of the vulgar mind, which admired these extravagances as the height of sublimity, certainly retarded the confidence of stronger minds in the soundness of his understanding, and the genuineness of his character. He was also an extensive reader of history, in which, besides Polybius and Arrian, Tacitus and Plutarch were his favorite authors. The philosophical acquaintance with history which his conversations displayed through life, indicated that in youth, his only time for reading, he must have been a close student. On the 24th of February, 1785, he lost his father, who having been attacked by a cancer in the stomach, came to Paris to consult the physicians, and died at Montpelier, on his way home, from the effects of a disease hereditary in his family, and which

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thirty-five years after proved fatal to his son. He had ever treated his child with the most indulgent tenderness. From this time, Napoleon seems to have been looked up to, as the support and guide of his family: indeed, when his great-uncle, the archdeacon, was on his deathbed, a few years later, in 1791, he called the children about him, and said: "Joseph, you are the eldest of the sons, but there is the head of the house," pointing to Napoleon; "never lose sight of him."

Ætat. 16. In September, 1785, after an examination, of which the mathematical branch was conducted by La Place, Napoleon received his first appointment in the army—a second lieutenancy in the regiment of La Fère, or the First Artillery. He is said to have manifested the utmost joy at finding himself an officer. He joined his regiment, at once, at Valence, in Dauphiné. He here enjoyed superior opportunities of social intercourse, especially in the family of Madame Colombier, who conceived the warmest regard for him, and predicted with the confidence of ardent friendship, the distinction which awaited him. For her daughter, he felt an evanescent interest, of which he thus spoke when at St. Helena: "We were the most innocent creatures imaginable; we contrived little meetings together; one I remember on a midsummer morning, when all our happiness consisted in eating cherries together." In 1788, in consequence of a popular disturbance at Lyons, his regiment was ordered to that city, and was afterward transferred to Auxonne. In 1790, the Prince de Condé announced his intention of inspecting the artillery school at the latter place; and the commandant, anxious to make the best display, placed Bonaparte, as the most accomplished officer, at

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the head of the battery, notwithstanding the higher rank of some others. Practical jokes were the order of the day among the cadets, and the evening before the examination, all the guns of the battery were secretly spiked. Napoleon, however, was too much on the alert to be caught in that manner: he detected and obviated the trick, in season; and at the appointed time was in full readiness to do honor to a prince, the representative of a genius and military skill of which he ever spoke, to the close of his life, with almost unbounded admiration. At Auxonne, such of the young officers of the garrison as were graduates of the royal institutions, were associated in the exercises of the schools. On one occasion, a mathematical problem of great difficulty having been proposed, Bonaparte, in order to solve it, secluded himself in his room, it is said, for seventy-two hours; giving, thus early, an evidence of that power of continuance, in the exertion of both mind and body, which formed, perhaps, the most extraordinary and valuable characteristic of his later life. In the same year Ætat. 21. he was promoted to a first-lieutenancy in the regiment of Grenoble, or the fourth artillery, and returned to Valence, where this regiment was stationed. While he was at this place, the Revolution broke out, and Napoleon, who had given some previous evidences of liberal opinions, espoused the cause of the Revolution. In speaking, at St. Helena, of the motives which at such times determine the choice of sides, he observed, with perfect good sense: "Had I been a general officer, I might have adhered to the king; a young lieutenant, I sided with the Revolution." He seems to have been a sincere and ardent patriot, under the Constituent Assembly: but after the Legislative

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Assembly was formed, and through the subsequent stages of the movement, he was a cautious and interested observer.

1791. In the following year, Paoli, having returned from England, in consequence of the adoption of Mirabeau's motion for the recall of the Corsican exiles, was appointed lieutenant-general in the army, and commander-in-chief of the military division which included the island of Corsica. In September of that year, Napoleon, after an absence of twelve years, returned to his native town on furlough; at which place, in February, 1792, upon a general promotion, caused by the emigration of a large number of officers, he was raised to the rank of captain. The

Ætat. 23. revolutionary and conservative division in Corsica at this time, took the form of a party in favor of the connexion with France, and a party that looked to independence, or an alliance with England. To maintain the existing order, a battalion of provincial troops was raised, of which the command was given to Napoleon; and the first exercise of his power was in quelling a tumult which the Anti-Gallican party had created in Ajaccio. One Peraldi, animated by factious hostility, and an hereditary enmity to the Bonaparte family, sent forward to Paris, an accusation against Napoleon, charging him with having secretly fomented a riot, which he afterward made a merit of having quelled. The charge was absurd, but the circumstances of the time rendered it expedient for the young officer to present himself to the authorities at Paris, where he found no difficulty in vindicating the integrity of his conduct. It was during this visit, that he was a spectator of some of the most memorable scenes

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of the Revolution. On the 21st of June, 1792, he stood with a friend among the crowd on the river terrace of the garden of the Tuileries, when the mob forced the palace and compelled the king to appear at a balcony with the red cap of liberty on his head. Napoleon's indignation was roused by the unworthy spectacle. "The wretches!" he exclaimed, "how could they have had the folly to let them enter the palace? They ought to have swept off about five hundred of them with the cannon, and the rest would quickly have disappeared." He was also an eyewitness of the slaughter of the Swiss guards, on the 10th of August, which he beheld with horror and disgust. These spectacles rooted in the heart of Napoleon that detestation of the Jacobin party, which he afterward so often exhibited. He returned soon after to Corsica; and in January, 1793, at the head of two battalions of native troops, was ordered to co-operate with Admiral Truguet, in an attack on the island of Sardinia. That part of the expedition which was led by Napoleon was so far successful, that several forts in the straits of Bonifaccio were taken; but the principal attempt against Cagliari by the admiral having failed, Bonaparte re-embarked his men and returned to Ajaccio, with increased distinction.

Meanwhile, the progress of the Revolution had fully determined Paoli to detach his country again from dependence on France, and to seek a junction with England. He used every effort of argument and persuasion to engage the aid of the son of his former follower and friend; but Napoleon had resolved to adhere to the French alliance, which he vindicated as the natural relation and true interest of Corsica, and a

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position required by dignity and patriotism. Paoli was so much impressed by the tone of his sentiments, and the inflexible vigor of his opinions, that he is said to have remarked to Napoleon himself, as he frequently did to others, that he was a youth cast in the mould of the heroes of Plutarch, and that he would certainly rise to greatness.

Much, however, as he may have admired the firmness of his young opponent, Paoli lost no time in acting with the decision that belonged to his character. Returning toward Ajaccio, from a final conversation with Paoli, near the interior town of Corté, Napoleon found himself surrounded by an armed force on a mountain pass called Boccognano, and made a prisoner. He escaped, however, by a stratagem, and joined a force which the committee of public safety had established at Calvi. A civil war ensued, in the course of which Napoleon was sent from Calvi to surprise Ajaccio, then occupied by Paoli. At the head of a party of fifty men, he embarked in a frigate, and got possession of the fort of Torre di Capitello, opposite Ajaccio, on the north side of the gulf. A gale arising, the frigate was blown off the coast, and the party in the fort were besieged from the city, and reduced to such extremity as to subsist on rations of horse-flesh. In this situation, Napoleon defended himself with the utmost spirit and enthusiasm, and is said to have harangued his countrymen on the outside of the fort with so much eloquence as to win some converts. After five days the frigate returned, and the party were re-embarked, after blowing up a part of the fortification. Paoli, aided by the English, was now too powerful to be resisted. The French party retired to

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France. The Bonaparte house in Ajaccio was given to pillage. Joseph and Napoleon are said to have been formally banished. The mother sought refuge in Nice, and afterward in Marseilles, where with a numerous family, and the small remains of her fortune, she continued to reside. Napoleon resumed his service in the French army, under General Dugear, and was employed by him in some important and confidential services, one of which consisted in negotiating successfully with the insurrectionists of Marseilles to allow the provision and ammunition convoys of the army of Italy, the general-in-chief of which was General Brunet, to pass. Soon after Napoleon was promoted to the rank of chief of battalion, or lieutenant-colonel; an appointment which may be referred to the date of August or September, 1793.

The next scene of Napoleon's life brings us to the siege of Toulon, which was the beginning of his great career: but we have been thus particular in the detail of his earlier history, because it is intimately connected with a proper understanding of his character and abilities, and because it has been the subject of representations which have done as much injury to the genuine glory of Napoleon, as they have done violence to reason and truth. Some admirers of this extraordinary person, whose enthusiasm for their subject is greater than either their knowledge or judgment, and whose powers of discrimination have not enabled them to understand the conditions of human action, or the qualities of real greatness in mind and character, have exhibited the history and fame of Napoleon in a manner equally repugnant to fact and to philosophy. They have not elevated the

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grandeur of Napoleon too high, but they have placed it upon a basis upon which it can not be supported. In their attempts to make it great, they have rendered it rationally impossible: instead of a reputation, they have given us an imposture. They have described him as an accident of the times, and the prodigy of Fortune — thrown up by Fate, and pushed on through a career of unexampled glory, triumphing beyond precedent, and against science, by the inexhaustible energies of a magic which they term genius. A wise man knows that eminence and glory in any profession consist in understanding profoundly the laws which belong to the subject in question, and in acting invariably in obedience to them: and when the pretension is made of a success without science, or of a science without study, he knows that the conditions of the existence of the fact which is asserted, are defeated and destroyed. Fortunately, the greatness of Napoleon can be reduced to elements of reality and reason: and by rendering his history human and practicable, we give to the man a merit and a glory which have been referred to fate. In fact, at the opening of the Revolution, Napoleon presents the picture of a young man of good family and distinguished position — thoroughly educated in general instruction, and particularly well trained, through years of tutelage, in the profession of his choice — who had enjoyed unusual opportunities of military and political experience — and who stood in a position, the best perhaps that could be, for profiting of the events of the Revolution, and turning its forces to his own account. Genius is nothing else than the highest kind of natural intellect, animated by ardor of feeling, and enlightened by comprehensive

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and profound knowledge. Without systematic study, and without laborious exercise, it is impossible that it can be effectively developed. No man ever had greater advantages for forming his mind and character by the aid of old and regular institutions; and it was from them that he derived that discipline of the powers of thought and action, and that illumination of judgment, whose operation, under the stimulus of passion, and in the blaze of imperial glory, dazzled the world as the miracle of history. To the vulgar mind, which will never admire where it understands, the bringing of Napoleon's history into any relation with reason or probability may seem to resolve the enchantment which has hung around his name: but this resolution takes the praise from chance to reflect it, in increase of lustre, upon the character which by its own human energies —by the combinations of its own piercing intellect, and the might of its own strenuous will, alone—acting upon circumstances, opened its own way to empire and immortality.

It is a fact, not unworthy of note, in a psychological point of view, that the earliest development of Napoleon's ambition and powers, before a fit field of action had been opened to them, was in a literary form. At the age of fifteen, when at the royal school at Paris, he voluntarily prepared a memoir upon the luxury and expense attending education at that place, in which he urged the propriety of the students adopting hardy habits and a simple fare, and enuring themselves to such toils and exposure as they would encounter in war. In 1787, at the age of eighteen, at Valence, he gained, anonymously, a prize proposed to the academy of Lyons by the Abbé Raynal, on the question, "What

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are the principles and institutions best adapted to advance mankind in happiness?" In this essay, he defined happiness as consisting in the "perfect enjoyment of life according to the laws of our physical and moral organization:" and the forcible views, well adapted to the temper of the times, and the vivid style of writing, attracted much attention. When he was emperor, he was one day conversing with Talleyrand about this essay, and the latter, a few days after, took occasion to present it to him, having procured it from the archives of the academy at Lyons. The emperor took it, and, after reading a few pages, threw it into the fire, saying, "One can never observe everything." Talleyrand had not taken the precaution to transcribe it; but it has been said that Louis Bonaparte had had it copied, and that it is now in print. About the same time, he began a history of Corsica, which he dedicated to the Abbé Raynal, by whom he had been noticed and caressed. He corresponded with Paoli, in relation to it, and was in treaty with M. Joly, a bookseller of Dôle, for its publication. Raynal, who read the manuscript, advised its completion; but some change of purpose prevented its being finished, and it is now lost. During his residence at Auxonne, in 1790, Napoleon wrote and printed a letter to Buttafoco, the Corsican deputy for the nobles in the National Assembly. It is a brilliant and powerful piece of argument and invective, strongly on the revolutionary side. It produced a marked impression, and was adopted and reprinted by the patriotic society at Ajaccio. While at Marseilles, in 1793, Napoleon wrote and published a political dialogue, called "The Supper of Beaucaire"—a judicious, sensible, and able essay, intended to allay

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the agitation then existing in that city. A copy of it was brought to him in later days; but seeing no advantage in reviving, under the circumstances of a different time, a production written for a temporary and local excitement, he is said to have ordered its suppression.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SIEGE OF TOULON, TO HIS APPOINTMENT AS GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF ITALY.

THE triumph of the Mountain, and the overthrow of the Girondin party, in the Convention, on the 31st of May, 1793, caused a general insurrection in the south of France, where the latter party were predominant. Marseilles and Toulon joined Lyons in open resistance to the armies of the government. The Marseillese were defeated, however, and their city entered, by General Cartaux, with a detachment from the army of the Alps; and Toulon, which had become the principal refuge of the disaffected, saw no escape from the vengeance of the Jacobins but in throwing itself into the hands of Admiral Lord Hood, then blockading it with the English and Spanish fleets. Accordingly, this magnificent naval station was surrendered on the 20th of August, 1793; and on the 29th the admiral took formal possession of it in the name of Louis XVIII.: an event which produced a consternation in France, and roused the pride of the country to the highest pitch of indignation. General Lapoype was directed to approach on the east with four thousand men; and General Cartaux, a painter by profession, and one of

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those specimens of incompetence and conceit which the eddies of the Revolution had thrown up for the ridicule of the world, advanced from Marseilles at the head of a column of eight thousand. The deputies, Barras, Fréron, Gasparin, Salicetti, Albite, Ricord, and the younger Robespierre, were in attendance; and all the passion of the Convention was concentrated upon the scene. The committee of public safety at Paris, in completing their arrangements for the siege, called upon the committee of ordnance to submit the name of an officer suitable for the command of the artillery. Napoleon was at this time in Paris, whither he had been sent on a mission from General Brunet, commander-in-chief of the army of Italy; and was nominated and appointed to this important post—an appointment which was due neither to patronage, to intrigue, nor to accident, but solely to his own acquired distinction, and established character in his profession. As soon as he had received his orders, he set out for Toulon, which he reached on the 12th of September, and proceeded with such efficiency to assemble and organize the department over which he presided, that in six weeks a park of two hundred pieces of artillery, well-officered and advantageously placed, was playing upon the vessels in the harbor. The town itself was defended by about fourteen thousand men, English, Spanish, Neapolitans, and French, under the command of General O'Hara, an officer who had been included in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

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On the 15th of October, a council of war, over which the deputy Gasparin presided, was assembled to consider a plan of siege which had been sent down by the committee of public safety, and had been drawn up by

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General D'Arçon, an able officer of the engineers. It proposed to carry the place by regular approaches against the town itself, but an embarrassment arose from the inadequacy of the existing means to the extensive operations which the plan contemplated. Napoleon then expressed the opinion that the propositions of the committee were entirely mistaken, and proceeded to suggest the plan by which Toulon was finally reduced. Looking at the localities with a scientific eye upon his arrival, he had seen that the city itself, though the ultimate object, was, in a military point of view, a dependent position, and not the principal one ; and that the commanding point of the whole scene was upon a promontory which extended into the bay, to the south of the town, and on which stood the small forts of l'Eguilette and Balagnier. Twenty mortars and thirty pieces of cannon, playing with red-hot balls upon the roads below, would compel the squadron to stand out to sea, and reduce the town to a blockade which would inevitably terminate in its surrender; but it was to be inferred that, rather than encounter such a result, the garrison would be drawn off from the town, and the place given up, as soon as the fleet was unable to keep its place. Napoleon explained these views to the council, and concluded with an expression of his opinion that, in two days after the forts were taken, Toulon would belong to the republic. The plan was much discussed ; the engineer officers admitted the accuracy of the scientific principles upon which it was based ; and, owing chiefly to the influence of the president, Gasparin, who had conceived a high opinion of the commandant of the artillery, it was finally adopted. Of this man Napoleon spoke, to the end of his life,

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with gratitude, as the person who had opened his career; and, in his will, he left him a substantial token of his regard.

Meanwhile, the English commander had become aware of the importance of the promontory in question, and had erected upon it a fortification named Fort Mulgrave, but of such strength that it was called "the little Gibraltar." Napoleon, however, proceeded at once to raise five or six batteries against it, and to construct platforms for fifteen mortars; the intention being, after the works were sufficiently damaged by shot and shells, to carry them by storm. To effect a diversion in aid of this, a battery against Fort Malbosquet, situated on a point higher up the harbor, was erected under cover of a grove of olives, which concealed it so entirely that its existence was not discovered by the enemy while it was in progress. This battery was not to be unmasked until the moment of marching against the Little Gibraltar; but on the 20th of November, the deputies having visited the place and learned that the works had been finished for several days, but not yet applied to any use, immediately directed a fire to be opened. General O'Hara, surprised at the erection of such a battery so near to Malbosquet, early on the following morning ordered a sortie, which he led in person; but this sally was repulsed by the vigorous exertions of Napoleon and other officers, and O'Hara himself made a prisoner. Napoleon, in consequence of this, was promoted to the rank of colonel. In the interval, Cartaux had been recalled, and General Doppet, a physician, possessing neither talent nor courage, had succeeded him; until the committee of public safety, having become convinced of the necessity of employing a man

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of military ability, sent General Dugommier to take command—a soldier of high character, and of courage, said Napoleon, as dauntless as his own good sword.

The deputies, however, not able to appreciate the importance of the operations against the promontory, nor the conclusive consequences of their success, had become so desponding as to write to Paris advising that the siege should be abandoned, and the forces employed to lay waste the interior country: fortunately, before this advice could be acted upon, Toulon was taken, and they then found it prudent to deny the letter as a forgery. The energy and activity of Napoleon, however, were incessant: he slept by the guns, assisted in pointing them, was the first in every danger, and inspired in the soldiers that union of enthusiasm and coolness which formed the characteristic of the army in later times, when led by Napoleon. He showed that power of animating the men through the sympathy of noble sentiments, which formed indeed the magic by which he wrought the prodigies of his subsequent career. On one occasion, the fire directed against one of the batteries was so destructive, that the gunners refused to stand by it. Napoleon directed a sergeant to set up among the abandoned guns a placard with the words "The battery of men without fear," and stationed himself beside the battery. The effect was electric: the soldiers rushed forward to take part in an enterprise which seemed to raise them to the rank of heroes. The slaughter at one time was so great, that Napoleon seized the ramrod of a gunner who had just been killed, and served one of the pieces himself several times; and thus contracted a cutaneous complaint with which the soldier had been afflicted, and injudi-

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cious treatment subsequently repelled this malady from the surface, with effects that produced that spareness of person which was not corrected until he consulted Corrisart after his Italian campaigns.

About the middle of December, a decisive attack upon the Little Gibraltar was ordered: the commandant of the artillery threw seven or eight thousand shells into the fort, battered the works with thirty guns, and, on the night of the 18th, in the midst of torrents of rain, two columns, the leading one commanded by Dugommier in person, and the other, which followed at supporting distance, led by Napoleon, marched to the attack of the place. They encountered a desperate resistance, but finally carried the Little Gibraltar, killing the English and Spanish cannoniers at their pieces: and on the next day, advancing their guns to the heights behind Balagnier and l'Eguillette, which had been abandoned as soon as the principal fort was carried, they were ready to open a fire upon the vessels in the harbor. Lord Hood no sooner saw these places in possession of the French, than he made signal to weigh anchor and get out of the roads; and a council of the combined forces being summoned in Toulon, it was decided that the place was no longer tenable, and measures were taken for its precipitate evacuation. The scene of dismay, confusion, and terror, which ensued, can not be described. It was determined to destroy all the magazines and shipping which were likely to fall into the hands of the French. In the evening the arsenal was blown up, and nine seventy-four-gun ships and four frigates of the French squadron were fired. The explosions from the arsenal resembled the successive eruptions of a volcano, and the magnificent vessels

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blazing for several hours in the roads, lighted up the scene with terrible splendor. Meanwhile, an incessant discharge of cannon from l'Eguillette and Balagnier upon the harbor, and from Fort Malbosquet, which had been abandoned by the allies, upon the town, completed the horror of that memorable night. At break of day the English fleet, bearing away a great number of the inhabitants, was seen out at sea; and the city of Toulon was in the hands of the Convention.

When Napoleon, toward the close of his life, looked back over his great career, he referred to the siege of Toulon as the period when his name first belonged to history. All the generals, representatives, and soldiers, he observed, who heard his opinions given in the councils, three months before the taking of the place, anticipated the military career which he afterward fulfilled. He had acquired from that time the confidence of all the soldiers of the army of Italy. His name was not mentioned in the reports of the deputies; but General Dugommier, who was ordered to the army of the Pyrenees, wrote to the committee of public safety, to reward and promote that young man, for, if he were ungratefully treated, he would reward himself. Accordingly, Napoleon was advanced to the rank of brigadier-general. Here, also, Victor, Suchet, Duroc, and Junot, first became attached to his person. The last conceived so enthusiastic a regard for him, that he left his regiment for the purpose of becoming one of Napoleon's aides-de-camp, and wrote to his father — "He is one of those men of whom Nature is sparing, and whom she does not throw upon the earth but with centuries between them." His introduction to Napoleon's attention was as striking as his later fortunes were bril-

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liant. Having occasion to send a written order from the trenches, Napoleon called out for some soldier who could write. A young sergeant stepped forward, and, resting the paper on a parapet, wrote according to the dictation, when a ball struck in front of him, and covered the page with dirt. "Very good," said he, continuing his writing, "we shall not want sand on this page." Napoleon asked him what he could do for him. "Everything," said the private, touching his shoulder; "you can turn this cloth into an epaulette." He subsequently became a colonel-general of the hussars, duke d'Abrantes, governor of Paris, and governor-general in Illyria; though not, as Mr. Alison erroneously says, a marshal of France. The reason of his failing to receive this honor is referred by Bourrienne to some indiscreet disclosures made in Egypt to Napoleon in regard to Josephine.

Napoleon, now a brigadier-general, was sent to command the artillery in the army of Italy; and after superintending the reconstruction of the defences of the Mediterranean, he joined the headquarters of the army at Nice in March, 1794, accompanied by his aides-de-camp, Muiron and Junot. On the 28th of September, 1792, General Anselme, commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, had crossed the Var, and taken possession of Nice. The Sardinian army were impregnably entrenched in the declivities of the Alps, occupying the camps of Utelle, Lentosca, and Fourches, which rested upon the strong fort of Saorgio, and communicated on the left with Genoa, and thence with the Austrian posts, and with the English cruisers. General Anselme was succeeded by General Biron, and he by General Brunet, a zealous commander, who, by the

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failure of a direct attack on the enemy's position on the 8th of June, 1793, had incurred the resentment of the Convention, and been put to death for treason. His successor, General Dumerbion, an old and brave officer, well informed, but somewhat incapacitated by the gout, was now in command; and his generals of division were Massena, Macquart, and d'Allemagne. The army had thus been stationary for two campaigns in the county of Nice; but the effect of the brilliant combinations of the scientific mind of the new general of artillery was soon to be felt.

It is the duty of a general of artillery to make himself acquainted with the whole operations of an army, as he is required to furnish all the divisions with ammunition and arms, and must therefore be informed of everything that takes place. Napoleon, accordingly, at once visited all the advanced posts, and reconnoitred the line occupied by the army; and proceeded to study the problem of the campaign upon those principles of military art in which his mind was thoroughly instructed. A war in an irregular country, broken up by mountains and rivers, is necessarily a war of positions: everything is to be accomplished by manœuvring. This maxim, which the operations of the greatest commanders illustrate, was the basis of the plan which Napoleon on returning from his inspection submitted in a memorial to General Dumerbion. He pointed out that a direct attack, such as General Brunet had made, was injudicious, and necessarily unsuccessful; and advised a rapid movement of the right wing along the seacoast, and thence into the Alps toward the Col de Tende, in the rear of Saorgio, which would cut off the enemy's communications with the sea, and, by endangering his retreat, compel him

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to evacuate his entrenched camp of Fourches, and retreat precipitately behind the mountains. A council, of which the representatives Ricord and the younger Robespierre were members—the latter of whom had conceived a warm friendship for Napoleon—unanimously approved these suggestions. Accordingly, under the direction of Napoleon, a part of the army, amounting to about fourteen thousand men, was divided into five columns, which were to move along the coast, and two of which were to advance up the banks of the Nervia and the Taggia respectively, while the others were to move on to Oneglia, and from that point strike into the Alps near Mount St. Bernard. The first two were under the command of Massena, and the last three were led by Napoleon in person. The movement began on the 6th of April, 1794. Napoleon with the extreme right division rapidly passed the Nervia and Taggia, routed the Austrians at St. Agathe, and took possession of Oneglia, which he put in a condition to repel the hostile cruisers; thence he ascended to the sources of the Tanaro, defeated the Austrians on the 15th of April at the pass of Ponte di Nave, and drove them over the mountains; compelled the fortress of Ormea with four hundred men to surrender; and, on the 18th, entered Garessio, the ultimate object of his march—keeping open his communication, through Bardinetto and St. Bernard, with the sea, at Loano which had been seized by a detachment from Oneglia. Thus in twelve days Napoleon had repelled the access of the British cruisers on the coast; dislodged the Austrians from the higher Alps, taking four hundred prisoners, twenty pieces of artillery, and several thousand muskets; pushed forward the French posts eighty

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miles; and now, in possession of the Alpine road to Turin, looked down upon the plains and capital of Piedmont. Meanwhile, Massena, following the course marked out by Napoleon, having taken the small castle of Vingtimilia at the mouth of the Roya, turned to the left, occupied Mont Tanardo and Monte Grande, on the lower Alps, thence proceeded to Tanarello, and took post, after several conflicts, on the road from Nice to Turin, and in the rear of Saorgio. The result was precisely what the scientific eye of Napoleon had foreseen. The Sardinian army, twenty thousand strong, finding its flank turned and its retreat endangered, hastily evacuated the camp of Fourches, leaving numerous cannon and immense stores, and retired to the Col de Tende; and, on the 29th of April, Saorgio surrendered to Massena. A combined movement was now made in the advance, under orders from Dumerbion: the division of Marquart proceeded against the front, and Massena passed the Col Ardente and moved upon the Col de Tende. The enemy gave way in every direction, and the French were in full possession of the maritime Alps. These brilliant successes were acknowledged to be due to the general of artillery. General Dumerbion, in his despatch to the Convention, said: "It is to the talent of General Bonaparte that I am indebted for the skilful plans which have assured our victory." Savona was afterward taken; and the autumn and winter were passed by Napoleon in completing the fortifications of Oneglia, Vado, and other posts along the coast, and in acquiring that familiarity with the topography of the Alps which afterward proved of such inestimable service to him. In company with St. Hilaire, he passed a night in January, 1795, on the Col

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de Tende, whence at sunrise, through the roseate lustre of an Italian morning, he looked down with eager joy upon those lovely plains which were soon to be the theatre of his glory.

The revolution of 9th Thermidor (27th of July, 1794), which proved fatal to the Robespierres, had involved Napoleon, who had been patronized by the younger of the brothers, in some odium. The deputies, Laporte, Salicetti, and Albite, who now superintended the army of Italy, had had Napoleon arrested early in August, 1794, on a charge of being bribed; but an examination of his papers affording conclusive proofs of his innocence, he was released without trial. The officer by whom he was liberated, found him poring over the map of Italy. In the following winter, an order for his appearance at the bar of the Convention came down from Paris, upon a pretext of his having given a plan of fortification for the city of Marseilles for the purpose of bridling and oppressing the people. He exerted himself, however, to induce the deputies to send to Paris such statements as to the necessity of his presence in the camp, that the order was revoked. In April, 1795, the army of Italy, in which Napoleon had served, was reunited with the army of the Alps, from which it had been separated in the beginning of 1793, and the command of the whole given to General Kellerman; and at the same time, a new classification of general officers was made, which, by restoring several who had left the service in consequence of the events of 1792, excluded several younger officers from employment, removed Napoleon, the youngest on the list, into the infantry. His command of the artillery having thus ceased, Napoleon set

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out for the capital; and visiting his mother's family at Versailles, and adopting his brother Louis as an extra aide-de-camp, he arrived in Paris in the end of May, 1795. He waited at once upon Aubry, the minister of war, an incompetent and jealous intriguer; and remonstrating at his removal from the service to which he properly belonged, was reproached with his youth. "Officers," replied Napoleon, "soon grow old on the field of battle." A few days after, apparently to annoy him, he was ordered to join the army of the west, then in La Vendee, and to take command of a brigade of infantry—a proceeding so offensive to his feelings, that he sent in his resignation. This, though not at once refused, was not accepted; and Mr. Alison is in an error in saying, that he was deprived of his rank and reduced to private life. It has been said, however, that during these few days of dissatisfaction and suspense, he meditated applying to the government for permission to offer his services as general of artillery to the sultan, who was at that time inclined to become the ally of France in the war then agitating Europe. The committee of public safety, however, soon corrected the proceeding of Aubry, so far as to restore Napoleon to the corps to which he properly belonged, though he was still left with the army of the west. On the 27th of June, 1796, General Kellerman, whose abilities as a commander-in-chief were very inferior to his courage and activity as a soldier, had met with such disasters, that the committee of public safety, in alarm, called together such of the deputies as had been in Italy, to offer their advice upon the best method of operations. They concurred in referring the committee to General Bonaparte, who was accordingly con-

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sulted, and drew up a plan of campaign for Kellerman, which, when it was sent to the army, excited the surprise of the officers, but was soon recognised as the production of Napoleon; and being acted upon by Kellerman, and by General Scherer, who superseded him in November, retrieved to a considerable extent the reverses which had been met with. The advantage thus derived from the ready abilities and thorough knowledge of Napoleon, induced the committee to revoke the order appointing him to command in the army of the west, and by a special resolution to attach him, till further directions, to the war department, with the duty of directing the active operations of the army of Italy, with his rank of general of artillery — a position which he held until October. This period he afterward spoke of as the most agreeable portion of his life. The mornings were passed in official duty and in study; the evenings, in the society of the most distinguished persons in Paris, or at the theatre. His character was established: he felt that calm, strong satisfaction, which genius derives from having proved to itself its own certain superiority. The past was full of the truest pride; the present smiled with all the pleasures of eminence without its responsibilities; while in the future, there expanded before him a boundless prospect of power and fame. That connexion with the politics of the country, which was the beginning of his greater glory, was now at hand.

On the 21st of June, 1795, after much debate, the Convention, of which all parties had become tired, and which had become tired of its own existence, decreed the form of government known as the constitution of the year 3; by which the legislative authority was

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lodged in two councils, one called the Council of Five Hundred, the other that of the Ancients, and the executive power was vested in five persons called the Directory. This constitution, together with the supplementary decrees, that in the first composition of the councils, two thirds should consist of members of the Convention, and only one third be elected by the departments, was submitted to the votes of the people; the constitution was generally approved, and the decrees, though pronounced against by forty-seven out of forty-eight of the sections into which Paris was divided, were sustained by the votes of the provinces and the army. On the 23d of September, 1795, the Convention proclaimed the acceptance of the constitution and the supplemental laws; but the Royalists and the Jacobins in Paris, who saw in the establishment of the able and judicious government which was about to ensue, the ruin of their antagonist schemes, united in a determined resistance; and by their agitations, the sections of Paris were soon in open and armed revolt. They formed a central assembly of electors, which met at the Odéon. These were dissolved and dispersed forcibly by the Convention on the 10th Vendemiare (October 1, 1795). The section of Lepelletier, of which the district-house was the convent of the Filles Saint-Thomas, at the extremity of the street Vivienne, was the most violent in its proceedings; and the Convention decreed that its sittings should be closed, and the section disarmed. On the 12th Vendemiare (October 3d), about seven o'clock in the evening, General Menou, commander of the army of the interior, accompanied, according to the established law, by commissioners from the Convention, was sent at the head of a

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strong force, with a detachment of cavalry and two pieces of artillery, to put this order in execution. Advancing indiscreetly too far into the street, he found himself surrounded by an armed multitude, occupying the windows of the houses and the court-yard of the convent; and after a parley with the insurgents, he retired under circumstances which had all the disgrace of capitulation and defeat. Napoleon was witnessing a play at the Frydeau theatre, in the same street, when intelligence was brought in of the extraordinary scene that was taking place without. Coming out from the theatre, he witnessed from its steps the discomfiture of the troops, and then hastened to the galleries of the Convention to observe its proceedings on this alarming crisis. The assembly was in the greatest agitation. Menou was accused of treachery, and arrested. The party called Thermidoreans proposed Barras as his successor in the command. The members of the committee of public safety, who were in daily intercourse with Napoleon, and those who had opportunities of knowing his conduct at Toulon and in Italy, declared Napoleon to be the most competent person, on account of the extent of his foresight, and the promptitude, energy, and moderation of his character: and this opinion was adopted by the committee of forty. Napoleon, who was in the crowd, and heard all that passed, deliberated for half an hour as to the course he should pursue, and then repaired to the committee, where he pointed out, with great energy, the indispensable necessity of setting the commander free from the interference and control of the representatives from the Convention. The justice of these views was obvious; but it was now late at night; an

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attack from the sections on the following day was certain; and to procure the repeal of the law requiring the generals to be attended by commissioners from the Convention would have required a long debate in the assembly. The committee then adopted an expedient which conciliated all the difficulties: they proposed that Barras should be, nominally, general-in-chief, and Napoleon second in command—a resolution which was promptly adopted. Thus the commissioners were left to wait on Barras; and Napoleon was unfettered, and had the real command of the forces. It was now about one o'clock in the morning. He hastened to obtain from General Menou, who was still in one of the apartments of the Tuileries, all the necessary information in regard to the strength and positions of the troops and artillery. The army consisted of five thousand men in all, and the artillery of forty pieces of cannon, guarded by twenty-five men at Sablons. Murat, a lieutenant-colonel of chasseurs, was instantly despatched with three hundred horse to bring off the park to the garden of the Tuileries. He reached the Sablons at three in the morning, where the head of a column from the section Lepelletier had arrived at the same instant. In another minute he would have been too late; but his troops being cavalry, and the country a plain, the sectionaries judged that opposition was useless; they accordingly drew off without a contest, and at five in the morning the forty guns entered the Tuileries. Napoleon had determined upon occupying a central and defensive position in and around the Tuileries, and receiving there the attack of the sections. His army amounted to less than eight thousand men, while his opponents had at their command not

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less than forty thousand national guards well armed, and now thoroughly roused. Between six and nine o'clock on the 13th, he posted his artillery at the head of the bridges which cross the Seine, and at the head of the streets which run toward the Rue St. Honoré, which is parallel to it; thus defending the Tuileries on both sides. The command was given to officers of known fidelity; the matches were lighted; and the whole force ordered to await the movements of the enemy. Meanwhile the insurgents approached upon both sides of the river, and gathering courage from the apparent inactivity of the troops, came nearer and nearer, using every demonstration of insolence, until windows within gunshot of the Tuileries were occupied by their men. It was the crisis of social order in France, and of the national history for the next twenty years. At half-past four, when a dragoon had been already shot in the Rue St. Honoré, and a woman wounded on the steps of the Tuileries, and a formidable column of seven thousand men, led by La Fond, was seen advancing on the other side of the river toward the Pont Royal at charging step, Napoleon sent orders for all the batteries to open. Repeated and murderous discharges of grape were poured into the head of this column, which, after rallying and renewing its advance repeatedly, was finally routed: the places occupied by the national guards were assaulted and carried; the streets were cleared by the artillery; and at six o'clock in the evening everything was quiet. The *Revolution* was at an end: government was restored in France; and the destiny of Napoleon was, at once and for ever, determined.

Oct. 4th, 1795.

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On the 9th of October, Barras having formally declared to the Convention that public order was re-established, Napoleon was received, with his subaltern officers, at the bar. On the motion of Barras, he was confirmed unanimously in his office of second in command, and a few days after, on the 26th, Barras resigned his nominal command. Napoleon, as commander of the army of the interior, had now the duty of maintaining order, and providing for its permanent preservation, in a time of general distress from scarcity. On one occasion, a crowd had collected around a baker's shop where the usual distribution had not taken place, when Napoleon and a party of his staff, parading to keep the public tranquillity, came by. A woman of excessively robust appearance was particularly clamorous and violent. "These fellows in epaulettes," she cried, "laugh at our distresses: as long as they can eat and grow fat, they do not care if the poor people die of hunger."—"My good woman," said Napoleon, who, as he remarked, was as to thinness a mere slip of parchment, "look at me; which is the fattest, you or I?" A general shout of laughter burst out, and the officers continued their round. A principal duty of Napoleon, at this time, consisted in reforming the national guard, an object of vital importance to the preservation of the government, as it was a body consisting of one hundred and four battalions. He organized, also, the guards of the Directory, and remodelled those of the Councils. He established, also, a camp of instruction and discipline in the plain of Grenelle; and exercised unwearied diligence in the regulation of a subject so delicate as the military constitution of Paris. These circumstances, by making 1795.

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him perfectly acquainted with the nature and temper of these bodies of troops, and by creating in them an enthusiasm for him, were among the principal causes of his success on the 18th Brumaire (November 9th, 1799). He left such an impression upon these corps, that when he returned from Egypt, though the Directory had recommended its guards not to offer him any honors, they involuntarily beat *To the field* the moment he appeared.

At this time an event occurred, which was not without a powerful influence on his character and future fortunes — his marriage with Madame de Beauharnais. The account of the circumstances, which Napoleon dictated twenty years afterward, is a picture of classic pathos and heroic grace. After the disarming of the sections, a youth, ten or twelve years of age, presented himself to the staff, soliciting that the sword of his father should be restored to him. The father was Alexander Beauharnais, a general in the service of the republic, in the army of the Rhine, who had been guillotined during the reign of terror: the son was Eugene Beauharnais, afterward viceroy of Italy. Napoleon, affected by the nature of his petition and his youthful gracefulness, granted his request. Eugene burst into tears when he beheld his father's sword. The general, touched by his emotion, treated him with so much kindness, that Madame de Beauharnais thought herself obliged to wait upon him the next day to thank him for his attention. "It is needless," said Napoleon, "to speak of the extreme grace, the soft and enchanting manners of the Empress Josephine." The acquaintance soon became intimate and tender, and it was not long before they were married. To her he afterward

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professed himself to be indebted for all the happiness he had enjoyed, and of her charms he continued to speak with unabated sensibility. "Josephine," he remarked to O'Meara, "was grace personified. Everything she did, was with a grace and delicacy peculiar to herself. I never saw her act inelegantly the whole time we lived together."

Meanwhile, the situation of affairs in Italy had again become the subject of dissatisfaction to the government. General Scherer, who in the autumn of 1795 had been put in command of the army of Italy, Kellerman being placed at the head of the army of the Alps again separated from the other, had gained the important battle of Loano, in December of that year, by which the Austrians were driven beyond the Apennines during that winter. But he was reproached with not having profited by that victory as much as he ought to have done. His system and temper were not precisely such as the Directory desired to have. He was constantly applying for money to pay the troops and to refit, and for horses to supply the place of those which had died. The government put him off with vain promises, or with dilatory answers; and Scherer gave notice that, if his requests were not attended to, he would abandon the Riviera de Genoa, and return to the line of the Roya, or perhaps recross the Var. The Directory did that, the advantages of which had so often been felt before—they consulted Napoleon. In January, 1796, he submitted a memorial, detailing a plan of an offensive campaign on that frontier, which excited so much attention, especially on the part of Carnot, then minister of war, by its originality and ability, that, in connexion with the general confidence in his character, and the

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influence in his behalf which his approaching alliance with Madame Beauharnais created, it determined the selection in his favor. In the beginning of March, 1796, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, and on the 9th of that month was married. A few fleet days were given to his bride, when, exclaiming, "in one campaign I shall be old or dead," he set out from Paris, paid a brief visit to his mother at Marseilles, and reached the Nice on the 20th of March, where headquarters had been during the winter, and on the 27th of that month took the command of the army of Italy.

Ætat. 26.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGNS OF 1796 AND 1797.

NOTHING is more simple than the *science* of war: nothing is more complicated than the *art* of war. Viewed abstractedly, the principles upon which success in arms depends, are few, simple, and certain; viewed in practice, the methods in which those principles may be applied, and the combinations under which they may act, are indefinite in their number, and fortuitous in their suggestion. In all the varieties which war has assumed, from the days of Alexander to the present hour, and under all the novelties of circumstances which future times may develop, the laws which it illustrates are limited and uniform; but the modes of operation, by which these laws are brought into play, and by which their steady action determines victory to one side or to the other, are as copious as the history of nations, and as original and splendid as the fame of Scipio, Cesar, Marlborough, Turenne, and Frederic. The former are the common heritage of the profession;

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they can not be changed, or counteracted; they allow no room for invention. The latter is the field of individual ability; and the maxims upon which it depends can no more be taught or classified, than human reason itself can be reduced to a method. The neglect of this obvious distinction between the principles of military science, and the means of applying those principles with advantage, has caused the genius of Napoleon to be viewed, by ignorant admirers on the one hand, with an irrational and extravagant wonder, and, on the other hand, to be underrated by some English writers, for reasons which constitute the true grounds of his everlasting reputation. One class—the fanatics of his fame—have written as if, by some inexplicable energy of character, acting apart from all precedent, and against all rule, he had swept away all the distinctions of science, and triumphed by the force of his own unconscious but irrepressible greatness. The other school, comprising Sir Walter Scott and Mr. Alison, have supposed that in pointing out the fixed principles upon which his battles were gained, they transferred the merit of those victories from him to the profession to which he belonged. The former have not recognised the existence of a science in war; the latter have overlooked the distinction between a science and an art—between the laws which are to act, and the indefinite variety of forces and circumstances upon which those laws may operate. In another department, this distinction is so obvious that there is no danger of mistaking the truth. The principles which constitute the *science of mechanics*, may, in fact, be reduced to a simple, mathematical conception; and the methods, through which these principles may act—constituting simple, mechanical pow-

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ers — are no more than five: yet the *mechanic arts*, which consist of nothing but illustrations of these principles, and combinations of these powers, exhibit a range which no law can limit, and are inexhaustible subjects of admiration and wonder. No one imagines that the wonderful devices of Arkwright, and Watt, and Whitney, operate by anything else than science: yet no one estimates the inventive powers and creative genius of these persons at less, because we can trace in their machines the action of principles with which we are perfectly familiar. On the contrary, the rule of judgment is, that the more purely and plainly scientific the reasoning is, by which an invention has been made, the more astonishing is the genius by which that reasoning has been led. The most brilliant contrivance of modern times, perhaps, is the safety-lamp: it is because every step, in the process by which it was constructed, was suggested by fixed principles of science, that we bow with such reverence to the genius of Davy, and regard his invention as throwing such glory upon his name. In fact, in the same proportion in which science is exhibited in any work, is the peculiar and original ability, unacquired and incommunicable, of the author, exhibited.

Genius and its productions, in any department, are nothing else than human imagination and reason, acting according to those laws which nature has established in their sphere. While, therefore, the campaigns of Napoleon display nothing but the settled maxims and rules of military science, let no man imagine that it was these maxims and rules that made his campaigns, or that they measure the merit of Napoleon. Those conclusions of rational experience, which have become

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the axioms of war, were, in Napoleon's case, largely derived from books; and splendid examples of their manifold application were furnished in those great careers of Cesar, Frederic, Turenne, and Condé, which he so laboriously studied: but the perfection with which the elements of military judgment, and the instincts of military reasoning, were apprehended—the sagacity, combined of quick conception, profound logic, and all-embracing knowledge, which foresaw how some settled principle might be favorably applied—the enthusiasm, energy, skill, indomitable ardor, and imperturbable coolness, which forced the circumstances of the case into the conditions which the favorable action of the principle required:—these, and the thousand happy peculiarities of temper, habit, and manner, upon which everything depends, were the inborn and underived portions of his greatness; and these will remain for ever, to be most admired and extolled by those who can best understand the science with which they were connected.

That a greater force will always predominate over a smaller one, is an observation as incontestable in war as it is in mechanics; and, accordingly, the whole of modern military science may be said to reduce itself to having, at the point of contest, a greater force than the enemy. The rule is equally true in strategy and in tactics: the fate of a campaign depends, usually, upon which party has the larger army at the place where the decisive encounter occurs; and the issue of a battle is commonly with him who has accumulated a more numerous force, or a force that can act more advantageously at that point where the shock and crisis of the engagement take effect. The methods by which this

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relation is to be secured, vary with the circumstances of the case: and some of the different modes of effecting it, which the genius of the great military heroes of the age brought to light during the twenty years' war which now opens, will be seen in the following pages. In his first Italian campaign, as also at some later periods, Napoleon found himself at the head of a force inferior in numbers, but of inexhaustible energy and endurance, and of the most precise discipline, and opposed to an enemy courageous enough, but somewhat deficient in activity and rapidity, and obstinately adhering to the vicious system of dividing his forces and operating over an extensive line. He saw that, under these circumstances, to occupy a central position, and fall, consecutively, with his whole force, upon these separate detachments of the enemy, by means of very rapid and exact marches, would be a certain mode of satisfying the condition of having always a larger body at the point of contest. The quick sagacity with which Napoleon always saw the best way of bringing this system to bear — the confidence with which he adhered to it, and made it apply, again and again, with the most unfailing success — but, above all, the accurate information in regard to the geography of the countries, the precision of calculation with respect to the movement of troops, and the enthusiasm of execution, with which he caused his brilliant plans to be carried out, that are here displayed, render these Italian operations the greatest *first* campaign on record.

The same method of operation was so suitable, both to the temper of Bonaparte, and to the nature of his best resources, that it was his favorite style of proceeding to the end of his career. He himself explained

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this to be the principal secret of his splendid successes. In a conversation between himself, Moreau, and Gohier, recorded in the memoirs of the latter, Moreau, whose own great victory at Hohenlinden illustrated the same mode of proceeding, observed: "It is always the greater number that defeats the less."—"True," said Napoleon, "it is always the greater number that beats the less."—"And yet," said Gohier, "with small armies you have frequently defeated large ones."—"Even then," replied Napoleon, "it was always the inferior force that was defeated by the superior one. When, with a small body of men, I was in the presence of a large one, I collected my little band, and fell like lightning on one of the wings of the enemy, and defeated it. Profiting by the confusion which this always produced in their whole line, I repeated the attack, with similar success, in another quarter, still with my whole force, and thus beat the enemy in detail: and the general victory, which was the result, was still an example of the truth of the principle, that the greater force defeats the lesser."

When Napoleon took the command, in March, 1796, the army of the enemy was about twice as numerous as the French, and consisted of two great corps—one the active Austrian army of forty thousand men, of whom a large portion were cavalry, with one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, commanded by Generals D'Argenteau, Melas, Liptay, Wukassowich, and Sebottendorf, the left of which was in communication with Genoa and the English fleet under Nelson; the other, the active Sardinian army of twenty thousand men, with sixty pieces of cannon, under the Austrian general Colli, and Generals Provera and Latour, constituting

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the right wing of the allied force, and encamped and entrenched around Ceva; the whole commanded by General Beaulieu, an officer of seventy-five, but prompt, courageous, and of distinguished reputation, whose headquarters were at Novi. This army was well provided with every requisite, and was to be further augmented by the contingents of Naples, Parma, Modena, and the pope. The effective French army on the left bank of the Var consisted of thirty thousand men present under arms, of whom twenty-five hundred were cavalry, almost entirely dismounted, with thirty pieces of cannon: it was distributed into four divisions of infantry, under Generals Massena, Augereau, La Harpe, and Serrurier, and two of cavalry, under Stengel and Kilmaine: General Dujard commanded the artillery, such as it was, and Berthier was adjutant-general. Victor, Joubert, and St. Hilaire, were among the generals of brigade; and Murat, Junot, Marmont, Duroc, Le Marrais, and Louis Bonaparte, were aides-de-camp of the commander-in-chief. The French soldiers were destitute of everything: the supply of bread was precarious, and no meat had been distributed for a long time: the poverty of the government was such, that the military chest contained only two thousand louis in specie, which Napoleon had brought with him from Paris, and a million in drafts, of which part were protested. On the other hand, the soldiers were of the best class, being generally persons of superior rank, intelligence, and education, whom the revolution had driven into the army, and they had grown inured to war on the summits of the Alps and Pyrenees, amid that poverty and privation which Napoleon said were the school that forms good soldiers; and they had a

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commander who knew how to compensate for inferiority of numbers by rapid marches, for the want of artillery by the nature of his manœuvres, and for the absence of cavalry by the choice of position. Not a moment was to be lost; the army could no longer subsist where it was; all its dependence was on victory; it was only in the plains of Italy that it could reorganize and supply itself. Napoleon, determined to surprise the enemy at the very opening of the campaign, gave immediate orders to advance; and headquarters, which had never been beyond Nice since the beginning of the war, were instantly moved on to Albenga, about seventy-five miles further along the coast toward Genoa. In the march to this place, along the abrupt shore of the Mediterranean, the headquarters, with the rear and baggage, were exposed to the fire of Nelson's squadron; but Napoleon did not allow the columns to halt, either to avoid or return it. Arrived at Albenga, he reviewed the troops, and made the first of those kindling appeals to their enthusiasm to which so much of his power was owing, and which form one of the most striking illustrations of his character: "Soldiers! you are naked and hungry; the government owes you much, but can pay you nothing. Your patience and valor in the midst of these rocks are admirable, but they can not win for you martial renown: no glory results to you from your endurance. I propose to lead you into the most fertile plains on the globe. Rich provinces, great cities, will be in your power: there you will find honors, glory, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy! can you be wanting in courage and perseverance?" The significance of this appeal will be understood, when it is remembered that the army was

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in such a state of destitution, that for several years the pay received by the officers had been only eight francs a month, and that the staff had been entirely on foot. Berthier preserved among his papers an order of the day, at Albenga, giving a gratification of three louis to each general of division.

The plan of campaign is one of the finest exhibitions of that magnificent *coup d'œil* in which Napoleon excelled every commander that preceded him. The king of Sardinia, whose position had procured him the title of the "porter of the Alps," was in possession of all the passes leading into Piedmont; and to attempt to force them at this season of the year, and without artillery, was idle. Napoleon, therefore, conceived the idea of turning the flank of this tremendous barrier, by entering Piedmont across Mont St. Jaques, at Cadibona, which is the lowest point both of the Alps and Apennines, and of very trifling elevation, being the spot where the former end and the latter begin, and the only avenue through which Italy can be entered without crossing mountains. Savona, a fortified sea-town, afforded a good base; thence to La Madonna was three miles over a good road; thence to Carcari was six miles; and from there carriages led into the interior of Piedmont. A movement into Italy, by Savona, Cadibona, Carcari, and the Bormida, also promised to divide the Sardinian and Austrian army, as it equally threatened Turin and Milan, one of which the Austrians were interested in covering, and the Piedmontese the other.

The rapidity of execution which characterized these operations, was as brilliant as the vigor of the conceptions. Serrurier, with the left division, was stationed at Ormea and Garessio, to observe Colli at Ceva: the

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centre divisions, under Massena and Augereau, were posted at Savona, Finalé, and Loano, on the coast; La Harpe, with the right division, was pushed toward Genoa, and his vanguard, under General Cervoni, was advanced as far as Voltri. Beaulieu, then at Novi, conceiving that Genoa was the object of the French commander, was instantly on the alert to meet him: Colli, with the right wing, was directed to keep Serrurier in check; D'Argenteau, with the centre, was ordered to advance from his headquarters at Sasello through Dego and the Lower Montenotte, to pass the Apennines at the Upper Montenotte, descend the pass by Monteligino, and fall upon the left flank of the French at Savona, on its march to Genoa; while Beaulieu himself was to penetrate the Bochetta pass, fall upon Cervoni at Voltri, and effect a junction with D'Argenteau at Savona. These dispositions appeared at first sight to be skilfully made, and some of the French generals became alarmed. On the 8th, Massena wrote to the commander-in-chief: "I do not know what are your intentions in leaving the troops (under Cervoni) at Voltri: I must not conceal from you that our line is too much extended to be defended with so small a force:" and on the 9th, Mesnard, a French general of brigade, wrote to Massena, that D'Argenteau was advancing across the mountains, with the design "to cut off the retreat of our troops from Voltri, and to make them prisoners." But the eagle eye of Napoleon's mind had detected a fatal error in the operations of his opponent, and had already seen in it the presage of splendid victory. He observed that the movement of his enemies divided their centre and left in such a manner, that as they crossed the

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Apennines there was no communication between them, except round the back of the mountain; while his own force, on the contrary, was so placed as to be able to unite in a few hours, and fall in a mass on either division of the Austrians, with such effect that, if beaten, the other must immediately retire. Accordingly, Colonel Rampon, with the thirty-second, consisting of one thousand men, was ordered to occupy and defend Monteligino; and orders were sent to Cervoni to maintain his ground as long as possible, and then to retire upon the road to Montenotte. The object of these dispositions was to give opportunity and time for Napoleon to fall with his whole army upon D'Argenteau, in the defiles or on the summit of the Apennines. On the 9th, Napoleon fixed his headquarters at Savona. On the 10th, Cervoni, who on the 8th had repulsed an advanced corps of forty-five hundred Austrians, was attacked by Beaulieu at the head of ten thousand men, but held his ground firmly during the day; on the 11th, he retired to a strong position on the mountain of Le Fourche, and on the evening of that day, according to his orders from Napoleon, fell back secretly and rapidly upon La Harpe at Madonna, in the rear of Rampon at Monteligino, and on the road to it and Montenotte. Meanwhile D'Argenteau, who had encamped on the 10th at Lower Montenotte, marched on the 11th upon Monteligino, intending to debouch by Madonna upon Savona. At noon on that day, a strong reconnoitring party, who had been sent out by Colonel Rampon from the redoubts of Monteligino, were driven in, and D'Argenteau attempted to carry the position by assault, but was twice repulsed: on the third advance, Rampon, who was without food, water, and ammunition, proposed to his

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men a solemn oath, to die rather than to yield the post; and when the Austrians had reached the breastwork of the redoubt, the regiment, which for its defence of this place received the surname of *the brave*, rushed upon them with the bayonet, and drove them with slaughter down the mountain. D'Argenteau, finding his men fatigued, drew them back on the afternoon of that day, the 11th, and encamped on Upper Montenotte, intending to turn the position in the morning, and reduce it from the other side. This delay secured the success of Napoleon's arrangements; and Rampon was rewarded by the command of a brigade. On that night, which was dark and tempestuous, La Harpe and Cervoni were pushed forward from Madonna, to unite at daybreak with Rampon; Augereau was sent from Loano across the Alps, in the direction of Millesimo, to intercept any aid from Colli, and to prevent D'Argenteau from retreating in such a manner as to effect a junction with him: and Napoleon in person, with Massena's division and Joubert's brigade, set out at midnight from Savona, and by the dawn of day was near Upper Montenotte, upon the right and rear of the Austrian centre. On the morning of the 12th, D'Argenteau found himself surrounded on three sides; but prepared for the shock with judgment and firmness. But the swiftness with which the blow was dealt, was as terrible as the sagacity with which it was contrived was profound. Napoleon took his place on a commanding height, in the centre of Massena's division, and directed the movements of the corps. La Harpe and Rampon overpowered the Austrians in front; Massena drove their right from Montenotte; and Joubert at the same time took them in the rear. The route

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was complete: the Austrians, in spite of the efforts of their general, Roccavina, and of D'Argenteau, fled precipitately. Four stands of colors, five pieces of cannon, fifteen hundred killed and wounded, and two thousand prisoners, were the results of the brilliant day of MONTENOTTE; while the French loss was inconsiderable. The effect of Napoleon's plan of operations, in separating the Sardinians, became instantly perceptible: the Austrians who fled from Montenotte retreated upon Dego, toward Acqui, which defended the route to Milan and converged toward Beaulieu's line of retreat: the Sardinian regiment made their way to Millesimo, on the road to Ceva.

Beaulieu, on the 12th, was occupying Voltri, and planning with Nelson an attack upon Savona. He had heard in the morning the distant sound of firing on his right, but did not learn the overthrow of his centre till the morning of the 13th, when he gave instant orders to retreat. He himself reached Acqui that night. Sebottendorf was ordered to retire by way of Sestri and the Bochetta to Dego with the main body; and Wukassowich, with his division of grenadiers, was directed to march to the same point by the way of Sassello; but such were the difficulties of the roads, that only the advanced corps of Sebottendorf reached Dego in time for the next battle. Meanwhile Napoleon lost not an hour in his advance. On the day of Montenotte his headquarters were advanced to Carcari. D'Argenteau with such Austrian troops as had rallied from Montenotte, and such as were sent from Voltri by Beaulieu, occupied an entrenched position on the heights of Dego, on the 12th and 13th: Colli, with such battalions as he could withdraw from his main position at

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Ceva, which Serrurier, still stationary at Garessio, was vigilantly watching, occupied Millesimo, a narrow defile in front of which was occupied a strong force, and which was further strengthened by the mountain Cossaria beyond, occupied by General Provera with two thousand men: these two positions were connected by a Sardinian brigade, which occupied the heights of Biestro. Napoleon determined to attack the whole line at once, about four leagues in length, on the following day. Accordingly, on the night of the 12th, Massena was directed to advance the next day along the main road to Dego, and orders were sent to La Harpe, who after the battle of Montenotte had been sent with the right division to pursue the Austrians, and drive them further from their right, to wheel suddenly to his left on the 13th, and aid Massena in his attack upon the fortified position at Dego. At daybreak, on the 13th, Napoleon himself, with Augereau's division, which now formed the left wing of the army, directed the attack upon Millesimo. Augereau, who had not been present at Montenotte, led the charge through the defile, with such fury that the pass was swept as by a torrent, and by the aid of Joubert's and Mesnard's brigades, General Provera, with his corps of two thousand, was cut off from the main body and surrounded on Mount Cossaria, on the summit of which, in an old ruined castle, he held out in the hope of being speedily relieved. Perceiving the indispensable necessity of reducing this position, in order to proceed effectively against Colli, Napoleon ordered an assault; but a brisk fire being heard toward the centre of the French line, where Mesnard was stationed with

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his brigade, the commander-in-chief rode over in that direction, and left the assault to be directed by Augereau. He led his division in three columns up the hill, but when the summit was reached, a tremendous volley of bullets and rocks drove them back with confusion and loss. Napoleon, who returned to this post in the evening, and feared that Provera might cut his way during the night to the Sardinian army, ordered posts to be established closely around the foot of the mountain, and fortified with artillery, and the men to sleep on their arms. Meanwhile, the attack on Dego by Massena had not taken place on the 13th, in consequence of the fatigue of his troops, and the non-appearance of La Harpe, who did not arrive until the following day, when the armies were confronted throughout the whole of their extended line. On the morning of the 14th, Napoleon, leaving Augereau to operate against Colli and Provera, passed over to the right to superintend in person the storming of Dego, with the two divisions of Massena and La Harpe. The Austrians were entrenched in a grand redoubt on the summit of Dego, beyond the rapid mountain-stream of Bormida; and the French were divided into five close columns—three under Generals Causse, Cervoni, and Lasalcette, and led by La Harpe, were to ford the Bormida, and to assault the position in front; a fourth under Monnier, and attended by Massena in person, was to cross on a rude bridge, and march upon their left; while a fifth, under General Boyer, was held in reserve. About one o'clock the combined movement began. The columns of Causse, Cervoni, and Lasalcette, steadily ascended the hill under a brisk fire; and the Austrians in the redoubt, seeing D'Argenteau hasten-

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ing in the rear of the village to their relief, with four battalions, held their position with obstinacy. At this moment, Massena came upon the flank of D'Argenteau, who, finding himself in danger, immediately retreated, with the loss of his artillery. The men in the redoubt were thus surrounded, but still fought with courage: the three columns assailed them in front, broke through the works, and cut them to pieces. About noon on the same day, after Colli had made several unsuccessful attempts to relieve Provera, the latter in despair surrendered. At the same time, the heights of Biestro were carried by Mesnard and Joubert. Thus throughout the whole line, from Cossaria to Dego, the triumph of the French was complete. The Austrians were pursued into the gorges of Spigno, on the Acqui road, by four hundred cavalry. The whole loss of the enemy on this day was above two thousand killed and wounded; six thousand prisoners, among whom were two generals and twenty-four superior officers; thirty pieces of horse-artillery, sixty ammunition-wagons, and fifteen stands of colors. A further result of this great battle, was the complete separation of the Sardinian and Austrian armies, and the antagonism of their interests. Beaulieu removed his headquarters to Acqui to cover Milan, and Colli retired to Ceva to cover Turin, and to provide against Serrurier. Napoleon instantly put again in practice his favorite system, and proceeded to fall with his whole force on Colli. To aid the junction of Serrurier, who had been ordered to advance from Garessio, Augereau, supported by La Harpe, was directed to move toward his left and take possession of Monte Zemoto, while Massena, with his division, was to advance on the right and turn the ene-

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my's left, with a view to dislodge him from the entrenched camp at Ceva.

These movements were begun to be executed, when about three o'clock in the morning, Wukassowich with his Austrian grenadiers, who, it will be remembered, had set out from Voltri by the way of Sassello, appeared behind Dego, which to his surprise he found occupied by French instead of Austrians. He attacked them suddenly at daybreak, and the French battalion, oppressed by the fatigue of the previous day, offered but little resistance; the positions and the artillery of D'Argenteau were recovered, and six hundred prisoners taken. The intelligence of this disaster excited as much surprise as alarm at headquarters. Massena, who received the first intelligence of it, hastened to the spot, rallied the disordered troops, and led them back to the charge, but they were again repulsed. Napoleon then, having recalled La Harpe's division from its march toward Ceva, arrived on the ground, and directed the operations required for this second storming of the redoubt on the heights of Dego. Massena, with Mesnard's brigade, was directed to pass round and approach the redoubt in front; Cervoni scaled the precipice on its right flank; while General Causse climbed the left side of the hill of Dego. The last placed himself at the head of his corps, and rushed impetuously up; a heavy fire from the redoubt deprived the men of their leader, and threw them back in disorder: at the same moment, the Austrians sallied out and pursued the French down the hill, but Napoleon received the shock with a part of Victor's brigade, which had just arrived on the ground; and the others being rallied, the imperialists were driven back. The adjutant-

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general Lanusse, decided the fortune of the day. He placed himself at the head of two battalions of light troops, and charged up the hill as Causse had done. Twice he was driven back; the third time, putting his hat upon the point of his sword, he rushed boldly in advance of his men, and reached the summit. At this moment Massena appeared in front, and Wukassowich finding himself surrounded, fled in disorder. Nearly his whole division was destroyed or taken, and the artillery recaptured. Lanusse was made a brigadier-general for his heroic conduct; he afterward became a general of division, and fell at the battle of Alexandria, in Egypt, in 1801.

Placing La Harpe with his division at the Austrian camp of San Benedetto, on the Belbo, to observe Beaulieu, and prevent his junction with the Sardinians, Napoleon hastened to precipitate the residue of his army upon Colli, who was entrenched at Ceva, on the right bank of the Tanaro. Serrurier, from Garessio, defended the banks of the Tanaro; Augereau advanced by the route of Monte Zemolo and Monte Zemoto; and Massena, further to the right, converged toward the same point. The arrival of the troops upon the heights of Monte Zemoto opened a splendid and exhilarating spectacle. From that elevation they looked down upon the vast fertile fields of Piedmont. The Tanaro at their feet, and further on, the Po with its numerous tributary streams, gleamed in silvery lustre among fields and gardens glowing in the first bright green of the spring: while, in the far-distant horizon, a snowy girdle, made whiter by the deep blue of the sky above it, bounded this luxurious valley of the land of promise. The mighty walls of this Eden, beyond which the

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French had lingered for two years in hopeless eagerness, seemed to have fallen by a noiseless enchantment. "Hannibal forced the Alps," said Napoleon, as he contemplated this sublime achievement of his genius; "but we have turned them."

On the 17th, Serrurier, defending both banks of the Tanaro, attacked Ceva on the right, and pushed some corps toward the Corsaglia, to threaten its communications; Augereau, from the heights of Monte Zemoto, assaulted its front with the brigades of Beyrand and Joubert, and maintained a resolute contest; Massena, on the extreme right, advanced with a view to cross the Tanaro, and cut off the retreat. Colli, on the point of being surrounded, evacuated Ceva that night, and crossed the river, placing a garrison in the fort, and abandoning all his camp artillery; and the same evening the French headquarters were advanced to this place, and the next day to Lesegno, at the junction of the Corsaglia and Tanaro, to which point also, Massena directed his course. On the 20th, Colli marched by his right to take position at Mondovi; and encountering at St. Michael with superior numbers, Serrurier's division which the night before had forced the passage of the Corsaglia, he compelled them to fall back; he then occupied an elevated position under the fortified town of Mondovi, and throwing up a considerable redoubt before his centre, and some smaller ones on his left, prepared to receive the shock of his opponents. On the 22d, the French army, divided into three columns, passed the Corsaglia: the commander-in-chief, with Joubert's brigade and part of Massena's division, crossed at Lesegno, at the junction of that river with the Tanaro; Massena, with the residue of his divis-

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ion, forced the bridge of St. Michael, further up the stream; and these two columns moved upon Colli's left. At the same time Serrurier crossing by the bridge of Torré still higher up the Corsaglia, advanced the brigade of Guyeux against the enemy's right, and that of Dommartin against the centre, following the latter at supporting distance, with Fiorella's brigade. Dommartin was at first repulsed by the gallantry of General Dichat, but Serrurier advancing with impetuosity, the contest was renewed with the utmost severity. General Dichat was mortally wounded; and after dreadful slaughter Serrurier carried the redoubt which crossed the Sardinian centre. This decided the conflict. Colli, finding that Guyeux had driven in his right, and was entering Mondovi, and that Massena and the commander-in-chief were upon his left, retreated with precipitation and disorder behind the Ellero. They were pursued by Colonel Murat and General Stengel, the latter of whom, an invaluable cavalry officer, was unfortunately killed. The loss of the Piedmontese in this battle, amounted to three thousand men, eight pieces of cannon, ten stand of colors, and fifteen hundred prisoners, among whom were three generals: the fortified town of Mondovi, with its magazines and artillery, was also surrendered. Napoleon—*nil actum reputans dum quid superesset agendum*—pressed instantly on in pursuit of Colli, and in the direction of Turin. On the same day, the 25th of April, Serrurier entered Fossano, driving Colli out before him; Augereau took Alba; and the commander-in-chief, with Massena's division, marched into Cherasco, a fortified town at the junction of the Stura and Tanaro, and only ten leagues from Turin. This place was put into

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a state of defence, and the main body of the division then crossed the Stura, and occupied the village of Bra, five miles nearer to Turin. But Sardinia, overwhelmed and dismayed, was already at the feet of the conqueror.

Immediately after the loss of the entrenched camp of Ceva, Victor Amedeus III., alarmed for the safety of his capital, had sent ministers to Genoa to open negotiations with the French agents: and on the day after the battle of Mondovi, Colli proposed a suspension of hostilities; and conferences on the subject took place. Napoleon, feeling the vast importance of securing some fortresses in the country, made the proposal at once an occasion of securing that great advantage. He stated that the Directory had reserved to itself the power of making peace, but that he would grant an armistice, for the purpose of allowing a plenipotentiary to be sent to Paris to treat for a definitive peace: the terms of the armistice being that two of three fortresses, Coni, Tortona, and Alessandria, should be at once put in possession of the French army. These terms were promptly accepted and the armistice of Cherasco signed on the 28th of April, 1796.

When it is remembered that just one month had elapsed since Napoleon took the command of the army of Italy at Nice; that only sixteen days had intervened between the time when his headquarters were at Savona, and when they were at Cherasco; that in this interval, the combined armies of Austria and Sardinia had been severed, and one driven in confusion and disgrace toward Milan, and the other annihilated; that the haughty and selfish kingdom of Piedmont, Sardinia,

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and Savoy, had been precipitated into the dust; that the Alps had been past, and the immortal battles of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Mondovi, had been fought; and all this by a general for the first time in supreme command, and with an army so destitute of the ordinary supplies of shoes, and even of bread, that they were constantly disorganizing for the purpose of pillage; the history of the world may be defied to produce so impressive a display of human power, or so extraordinary a series of human occurrences. The proclamation of the general-in-chief to his soldiers at Cherasco sounds like the wildest extravagance of rhetoric; yet is so literal an expression of facts, that every clause in it may be at this day proved by the incontestable evidence of monuments and documents. "Soldiers!" said this second address, "you have, in fifteen days, gained six victories, taken twenty-one stands of colors, fifty-five pieces of cannon, and several fortresses, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont; you have taken fifteen thousand prisoners, and killed or wounded upward of ten thousand men. Heretofore, you have fought for barren rocks, now famous by your valor, but useless to your country: your services are now equal to those of the armies of Holland and the Rhine. You were utterly destitute; and you have supplied all your deficiencies. You have gained battles without cannon, crossed rivers without bridges, made forced marches without shoes, and bivouacked without brandy, and often without bread. None but republican phalanxes, the soldiers of liberty, could have endured what you have: thanks be to you, soldiers, for your exertions. Your grateful country owes its prosperity to you: and if the conquest of Toulon was

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an omen of the immortal campaign of 1793, your present victories foreshadow one still more glorious." Murat, first aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief, was despatched to Paris to deliver to the Directory a copy of the armistice and twenty-one stands of colors, the trophies of victory. Already, five times in one week, in the sittings of the 21st, 22d, 24th, 25th, and 26th of April, as the news of the victories of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, Ceva, and Mondovi, successively reached Paris, had the Directory decreed that the army of Italy deserved well of the country: and now, the arrival of the picturesque evidences of triumph, and of the intelligence of the entire submission of Sardinia, raised the enthusiasm of all classes to its height. The Sardinian plenipotentiary, Count Revel, soon arrived, to treat for a definitive peace; and a treaty was concluded and signed on the 15th of May, 1796. By this convention, Alessandria and Coni were surrendered to the army; Valenza, a fortified town on the Po, was evacuated by the Neapolitan troops, to be held by the French general till he had crossed that river; the militia were disbanded; the mountain fortresses of Suza, La Brunette, and Exilles, were demolished, and the passages of the Alps opened; and the king of Sardinia left without any fortified places but Turin and Fort Bard. Everything was thus smoothed for the conquest of Lombardy.

Napoleon remained but three days at Cherasco after the signing of the armistice, and then hastened forward to make a dash at Milan. Massena marched into Alessandria, and Napoleon's headquarters reached the well-supplied fortress of Tortona, both of which were opened to the French in the beginning of May. The

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reference to Valenza in the arrangements concluded at Cherasco had been made for the purpose of deceiving the Austrian army as to the place of crossing the Po; and the early movements of the French army kept up the delusion. Beaulieu stationed his troops at Valeggio, on the left bank of the Cogna, and prepared to defend Milan by disputing the passage of the Po, the Sesia, and Tecino. Napoleon having assembled around him at Tortona the grenadiers of the army, amounting to thirty-five hundred men in ten battalions, and being joined by Serrurier and La Harpe, marched suddenly to Placenza, which he reached at nine o'clock in the morning on the 7th of May, having traversed sixteen leagues in thirty-six hours. He took his place upon the bank and superintended the passage of the men in ferry-boats, and the construction of a bridge under General Andreossy. Lannes passed first with nine hundred grenadiers, and in a few hours the whole van, though opposed by two squadrons of Austrian cavalry, passed. On the same night the whole army arrived, and in the night crossed upon a bridge. The headquarters of the grenadiers, under La Harpe, were advanced on the 7th to Emetri between Fombio and the Po. Liptay, the Austrian general, who had been stationed at Pavia, with his division of eight thousand men in eight battalions and eight squadrons, advanced during the night of the 7th to Fombio, one league from Placenza. On the 8th, Napoleon proceeded to dislodge him, by ordering Lannes to attack the village on the left, Lanusse in the centre, and Dallemagne on the right. After a brisk contest of an hour, the Austrians were routed with the loss of their cannon, twenty-five hundred prisoners, and three stands of colors; and the

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fugitives crossed the Adda, and entered the fortress of Pizzighittone. The same night, General Beaulieu, who had become apprized of the intention to cross at Placenza, descended the Po in hopes of disputing the passage, but found that he was too late. During some movements on that evening, the brave General La Harpe, returning from reconnoitring, was unfortunately shot by his own troops. On the 10th, the whole Austrian force in Lombardy amounted to about thirty-five thousand men; and was composed of the divisions of Sebottendorf and Roselmini, together about twelve thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, concentrated under Beaulieu at Lodi; the remains of the eight thousand who had been defeated at Formio, and were now in Pizzighittone; two thousand men in garrison at Milan; and ten thousand, the remains of Colli's and Wukassowich's force, who were retreating through Cassano toward Brescia. On that day, the French army, advancing from the bridge of Placenza, encountered a strong rear-guard of Austrian grenadiers in an advantageous position, defending the Lodi road; after some manœuvring, and a brief, but fierce contest, they broke, and were pursued into the walled town of Lodi. The Austrians rallied behind the line established by Beaulieu on the left bank of the Adda, and opened a fire from about thirty pieces of cannon to defend the bridge. Napoleon, in hopes of cutting off the troops that were marching by Cassano, determined to cross the bridge at once in face of the enemy's fire. Accordingly, at five o'clock in the afternoon, he directed General Beaumont to pass the river at a ford half a league above the town, and to open a fire, on the other side, upon the enemy's right flank. He then directed all

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the artillery of his army against the enemy's batteries which swept the bridge; and drawing up his grenadiers behind a rampart, out of the fire, and nearer to the Austrian batteries than their own infantry were, who had been withdrawn some distance to avoid the batteries of the French, he waited till the enemy's fire slackened a little, and then ordered the charge to beat. The column, by a mere wheel to the left, reached the bridge, which it crossed at a running pace in a few seconds, took the enemy's cannons, broke their line, and forced them to retreat on Crema with the loss of twenty-five hundred prisoners and several stands. This operation displayed as much prudence as boldness, and was regarded as one of the most brilliant feats of the war. Napoleon stated his own loss to be not more than two hundred men; yet, brief as the exposure was, he spoke to the end of his life of "the terrible passage of the bridge of Lodi."—"Vendemiare, and even Montenotte," said Napoleon, afterward, "never induced me to look upon myself as a man of a superior class; it was not till after Lodi that I was struck with the possibility of my becoming a great actor in the game of politics. The first spark of my ambition was kindled at that time." The principal object, however, of this assault had failed; for Colli and Wukassowich had crossed the Adda at Cassano, and were in full retreat upon the Brescia road; the French, therefore, invested Pizzighettone, which immediately surrendered with three hundred prisoners. Napoleon, in one of his nightly rounds, fell in with a bivouac of these prisoners, and asked an old Hungarian officer among them how matters had gone on their side. "There is no understanding it at all," he replied; "we have to deal with

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a young general, who is one moment before us, the next behind us, then again on our flanks; one does not know where to place oneself: this manner of making war is intolerable and against all usage and custom." The French cavalry pursued the Austrian rearguard as far as the Oglio, and entered Cremona. The Austrian authorities took refuge in Mantua.

Milan sent a deputation to implore the mercy of the conqueror. On the 15th of May, Napoleon entered under a triumphal arch, amid the national guards clothed in the *tricolor*, and an immense concourse of people. The army remained here six days, to supply itself with every convenience, and to organize its artillery. A contribution of twenty millions of francs was imposed upon this part of Lombardy. Previously to this, Napoleon, when he entered the duchy of Parma, at the passage of the Trebbia, received envoys making the submission of that prince. As he was a person of no political importance, he was suffered to reign; a contribution of two millions in money, of numerous supplies for the army, and twenty of his best pictures, including the Saint-Jerome of Correggio, being exacted. The terms were signed at Placenza, on the 9th of May. The duke offered two millions more to be allowed to keep this picture, and the army-agents were in favor of accepting the commutation; but Napoleon said that there would very soon be nothing left of the two millions proposed; while the possession of such a masterpiece would be a permanent ornament to Paris, and would produce other works of art. After Milan was taken, the duke of Modena hastened to make terms with the victor. He paid ten millions, gave horses and supplies of all kinds, and works of art; the convention

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being signed at Milan on the 20th of May. Thus, in twenty-two days after the armistice of Cherasco was signed, Padua, Modena, and Lombardy, had been cleared of the Austrian troops, and converted into provinces of France. The army did not remain more than seven or eight days in Lombardy, but that time was diligently improved to the establishment of the French ascendency. Augereau was at Pavia; Serrurier at Lodi and Cremona; and La Harpe's division at Como, Cassano, and Lucca. In these and other places, the French dominion was secured by the formation of national guards, the change of public officers, and the remodelling of the political institutions. Leaving General Despinois in command at Milan, with orders to reduce the citadel with the besieging trains drawn from the Piedmontese fortresses, Napoleon advanced his headquarters to Lodi on the 24th, and two hours after entering that place he received intelligence of the revolt of Pavia, which Augereau had quitted on the 20th, and of all the villages of that province, occasioned chiefly by the severity of the exactions imposed upon them. He instantly returned to Milan with three hundred horse, a battalion of grenadiers, and six pieces of cannon. The French garrison of Pavia had capitulated to the insurgents, who had pushed forward an advanced guard of eight hundred men to Binasco. This place was attacked by Lannes, and burned; and Pavia having been summoned ineffectually, Napoleon, with fifteen hundred men and six field-pieces, instantly assaulted a walled city containing thirty thousand in a state of insurrection. After a protracted cannonade, the place was carried by a charge; and slaughter, pillage, and fire, rendered it a memorable example to the

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rest of Italy. Hostages were then exacted throughout Lombardy, and selected from the best families.

Meanwhile, all the cantonments in the Milanese were raised on the 27th of May, and the army marched on Oglio, under the command of Berthier. On the 28th, the commander-in-chief joined it, and marched with it into Brescia, one of the principal Venetian towns. Here he made a proclamation of friendly feeling and respect toward the republic of Venice; and the senate sending commissioners to declare its neutrality, it was agreed that it should furnish all necessary provisions, to be afterward paid for. Beaulieu, largely reinforced, now prepared, as a last resistance, to dispute the passage of the Mincio. On the 29th of May, his centre, consisting of Pittony's division, occupied the village of Borghetto on the right bank, and the heights of Valeggio on the left bank; his right, under Liptay, rested on Peschiera; and on his extreme left, Sebottendorf took a position at Pozzuolo, and Colli at Goito: Melas, with fifteen thousand, being at Villa Franca. On that day, the French having its centre at Montechiaro, its right at Castiglione, and its left at Dezenzano, made a demonstration of crossing at Peschiera, which drew the reserve to that place; and then, at daybreak, debouched on Borghetto. In front of that village were three thousand cavalry; and intrenched within it, and upon the heights of Valetto on the other side of the river, were four thousand infantry. Murat attacked the cavalry with brilliant success, and took two thousand prisoners, nine pieces of cannon, and two standards: Colonel Gardane, at the head of the grenadiers, then charged into Borghetto, from which the enemy retreated burning the bridge behind them. Gardane

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dashed into the water, and the Austrians, terrified by the impetuous bearing of his corps, abandoned Valeggio. It was then ten in the morning; in two hours the bridge was restored. Augereau passed, and marched up the left bank upon Peschiera; Serrurier followed the troops who had evacuated Valeggio and were retreating on Villa Franca; he was accompanied some distance by the commander-in-chief, who then returned to Valeggio, where headquarters were to be fixed; Massena's division had not yet crossed. At this moment, Sebottendorf, who had heard the firing, marched up the left bank upon Valeggio, and was exceedingly near capturing the commander-in-chief. Massena's division, however, instantly crossed, routed Sebottendorf, and pursued him closely during the whole evening. The great allied army of Austria and the Italian states, which two months before had menaced France from the declivities of the Alps, was now chased from out Italy, and in a military point of view annihilated. The siege of Mantua alone remained to be accomplished. On the 3d of June, Massena took possession of Verona, and there established the centre of the army of observation, amounting in all to twenty thousand men, destined to cover the siege and protect Italy on the north; its left occupied Montebaldo, and its right the lower Adige. On the 4th, Mantua was vigorously invested by Serrurier with fifteen thousand men: but two more Austrian armies were to be conquered, and innumerable perils encountered, before the republican flag waved over that classic city.

It soon became known that Austria would send into Italy during the summer an army of thirty thousand men under Marshal Wurmzer, their successful general

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on the upper Rhine. Napoleon estimated that he could not arrive before the middle of July; and as there was no hope of reducing Milan while the battering train was occupied before the citadel of Milan, he determined to devote the next six weeks to establishing the French supremacy over the states of central and lower Italy. On the 5th of June, an armistice had been signed with the king of Naples, who, seeing upper Italy in the hands of the French, had sent Prince Belmonte to headquarters to request it. In consequence of this, the Neapolitan contingent of twenty-four hundred cavalry quitted the Austrian army. On the 14th of June, Napoleon, sending Augereau's division across the Po, returned himself to Milan, and had the trenches opened before the citadel; and on the 29th, while dining with the grand-duke of Tuscany, he had the satisfaction of hearing of its capitulation with twenty-five hundred prisoners and one hundred pieces of cannon. From Milan, Napoleon proceeded to Tortona, and thence sent his aide-de-camp, Murat, to establish the French influence in Genoa, and Colonel Lannes, with twelve hundred men, to reduce Arquata. Augereau, with his division, on the 18th, took possession of Bologna and Ferrara, which belonged to the pope; and the next day, Fort Urbino, a papal fortress of great strength, with a garrison of eight hundred men, capitulated to Colonel Vignoles at the head of two hundred guides. Napoleon, passing through Placenza, Parma, and Reggio, entered Modena on the 19th, where he was received and treated with enthusiastic respect. At Bologna, the same honors awaited him. The pope became alarmed, and employed Azara, the Spanish minister, to conclude an armistice on his behalf, which

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was signed on the 23d of June. In this convention it was stipulated that the pope should send a minister to Paris to treat for a definitive peace; that Bologna and Ferrara should remain in the possession of the French army, and that a French garrison should be placed in Ancona; that the pope should pay twenty-one millions in money, horses, and other supplies; and give up one hundred works of art, to be selected by French commissioners. Meanwhile, General Vaubois had crossed the Apennines with a brigade of four thousand men and horses collected at Modena, and Napoleon, on the 26th of June, joined him at Pistoia On the 29th, Murat dashed upon Leghorn, in hopes of surprising the English merchants, who had a hundred ships laden there; but they had received notice, and escaped to Corsica. Napoleon went thence to Florence, to pay a visit to the grand-duke of Tuscany, who had invited him to be his guest. After a short stay, leaving Vaubois in command of Leghorn, with a garrison of two thousand men, he ordered the rest of the troops to rejoin the army on the Adige, and he himself returned to Bologna; and soon after, with all his troops, regained the left bank of the Po. The siege of Mantua, now aided by the train which had come from Milan upon the fall of the citadel there, was proceeding vigorously, but still was unsuccessful. Napoleon again visited Milan, to arrange the affairs of Lombardy; and there heard of Wurmser's irruption from the north. Napoleon instantly returned, and established his headquarters at Castel-Nuovo, a place whence every point of danger could be conveniently reached.

The whole disposable force of the French army at

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this time north of the Po, besides the divisions occupied around Mantua, did not much exceed thirty thousand men under arms: while Wurmser, whose headquarters were at Trent, had assembled seventy thousand there, of whom thirty thousand had been brought by him from the army of the Rhine, and the residue consisted of Beaulieu's troops; and might rely on fourteen thousand under Roccavina, Koselmini, and Wukassowich, now shut up in Mantua; making an effective Austrian army of eighty thousand men. The French were disposed as follows: General Soret, with forty-five hundred men, was posted at Salo, intercepting the road from Trent to Brescia; Massena, at Bussolengo, with twelve thousand, occupied Montebaldo, the plateau of Rivoli, and the country between the Adige and Lake Garda; of Despinois's division of five thousand, D'Allemagne's brigade was at Verona, and the other brigade on the Adige below it; Augereau's division of eight thousand was at Porto Legnano and the lower Adige; and Napoleon himself, with two thousand horse, was at Castel-Nuovo. Wurmser considered the French army as fixed before Mantua, and so confident was he of destroying them, that his principal aim was to cut off their retreat. He, therefore, divided his army into two principal divisions: the right, consisting of twenty thousand men under Quasdonowich, marched from Trent upon Brescia, to cut off the French communications with Milan, and enclose them on that side; the residue of the army, amounting to fifty thousand, descended on the east side of Lake Garda, one division, under Mezaros, being despatched to threaten Verona, while the residue, consisting of four divisions under Melas, Sebottendorf,

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Bayalitch, and Liptay, in all thirty thousand, and a large body of cavalry and artillery under Davidowich and Metroski, advanced under Wurmser between Lake Garda and the Adige, and along the valley of the latter, intending to unite with Quasdonowich, on the Mincio, and shut up the whole French army on the Adige and around Mantua. The destruction of the brilliant conqueror of Italy seemed almost inevitable: the universal belief south of the Po was, that the adage would again be verified that Italy is the tomb of the French. Napoleon contemplated his position with profound solicitude, but with the calmness and strength of a mind conscious of illimitable resources. A master in military science, and with an energy of character adequate to accomplish all its requisitions, he stood watchful to mark the first mistake which his enemy might make, and to turn it to his discomfiture. That mistake consisted in a similar disposition to that which Beaulieu had made in crossing the Apennines to Savona. Wurmser's right division was separated from the centre and left by the lake of Garda, and could communicate with it only around Roveredo. Napoleon determined to concentrate his whole army around the outlet of Lake Garda; prevent the two divisions of the Austrians from uniting; fall first upon the Austrian right with his entire strength, and then upon their left; arranging it always so, by the rapidity of his marches and the concentric nature of his positions, that wherever a battle was fought, it should be with equal or superior numbers on the part of the French. As soon, therefore, as Wurmser was ascertained to be in motion, orders were despatched to Serrurier instantly to raise the siege of Mantua, destroying all the apparatus, and together with

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all the troops on the Adige and elsewhere, to concentrate with the utmost rapidity on the line of the Mincio, between Peschiera and Marcaria. On the 30th of July, intelligence came in, that the whole Austrian line, on both sides of the lake, was descending with the greatest impetuosity and force. The right, under Quasdanowich, had been divided into three columns, of which the first one crossed the heights of Saint-Ozetto, and entered Brescia without opposition; the second, commanded by General Ocskay, took position at Gavardo and threatened Ponte di San Marco and Lonato; and the third marched on Salo, driving General Soret before it, who retreated on Dezenzano, leaving General Guyeux in the fortress at Salo, to sustain the repeated assault of the Austrian column: at the same time, the centre, descending along Montebaldo and the Adige, was driving Massena in upon Bussolengo; and the extreme left, under Mezaros, was occupying the heights behind Verona. On the 31st, Massena, who had been retarding the advance of the Austrians down the Adige, gradually assembled his division around Peschiera, which was in possession of General Guillaume; Augereau moved with his division from Legnano to Borghetto; D'Allemagne marched from Verona to Lonato; and in the night Serrurier broke up from before Mantua, and marched to Marcaria. Napoleon was thus in a position to deal a powerful blow with his whole army, first at one division of the Austrians and then at the other. As the right wing was the most advanced, and as by a ramification of the original error of the Austrian operations it was subdivided into three distinct bodies, he determined to deliver the first stroke against it. General Soret was sent back to relieve Guyeux at

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Salo, who for forty-eight hours had withstood a whole division of the enemy, and repulsed five assaults; Soret arrived as the Austrians were making a final attempt, fell on their flank, routed them entirely, and took a number of colors, cannon, and prisoners, and then drew back toward Dezenzano to preserve his communications. Napoleon put himself at the head of D'Allemagne's brigade, which had just come up from Verona, attacked Ocskay's column, which had advanced upon Lonato from Gavardo, and after a sharp struggle routed it with great loss. On the same night, he put himself at the head of Massena's and Augereau's divisions, leaving a rear-guard of the former, under General Pigeon, on the right bank of the Mincio at Peschiera, with orders, if attacked, to fall back upon Lonato, and of the latter at Borghetto, under General Valletta, with orders, under like circumstances, to burn the bridge and retire upon Castiglioni, marched all night to Brescia, which he reached at ten o'clock on the 1st of August; but Quasdonowich, terrified by finding the whole French army upon him, retreated precipitately, leaving all the prisoners which he had captured on first entering Brescia. Meanwhile, Wurmser, descending on the left side of the lake, had reached the Mincio: desirous of bringing into action the valuable force which was confined in Mantua, he left one (Bayalitch's) division in front of Peschiera, and two divisions at Borghetto, one of them Liptay's, together with part of his cavalry, with orders to cross the Mincio, and connect with the right wing; while he himself, with the other division and the rest of the cavalry, marched to Mantua to raise the siege. Napoleon with his eagle eye saw this new mistake of dividing the centre, and flew

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with the swiftness of the eagle's wing to profit of the fault. Sending General Despinois and Adjutant-General Herbin, with a few battalions, to pursue the retreating Quasdonowich upon Saint-Ozetto, he countermarched the divisions of Massena and Augereau with rapidity — the former toward Lonato, where its rear-guard under General Pigeon had taken up a good position; the latter upon Montechiaro, behind Castiglione, which, in consequence of the disorderly manner in which General Valletta had allowed the rear-guard to retire, had fallen into the hands of the enemy. On the 2d, the enemy had crossed the Mincio; Liptay's division and another occupying Castiglione, and Bayalitch's, with the cavalry, approaching Lonato, with the intention to open communications with the right wing, whose discomfiture and retreat were not yet known. On the 3d was fought the battle, called of LONATO: the Austrian force being about thirty thousand, and the French about twenty-three thousand. Augereau, with the right wing of the French, was at Montechiaro; Massena, forming the centre, was in Lonato, supported by the commander-in-chief at Ponte di San Marco; on the extreme left, General Salo was in the neighborhood of Dezenzano, keeping in check the troops of Quasdonowich's division. At daybreak, the enemy made a vigorous charge upon Lonato and carried it: the commander-in-chief then put himself at the head of the troops, retook Lonato, and cut in half the Austrian line, which had been extended very far to the right, with the hope of communicating with Quasdonowich's force; drove one part back upon Mincio, and the other upon Salo, where, being pursued by St. Hilaire, they were intercepted by General Soret, and obliged to lay down

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their arms. On the French right, Augereau began the attack, and after an obstinate engagement, in which that general displayed the utmost valor and ability, Castiglione was carried, and Liptay driven with great loss beyond the Mincio. In the meantime, Wurmser had entered Mantua, on the 1st of August: finding the besieging army had retired, he sent a part of his troops toward Marcaria in pursuit of it; and despatched the rest to reinforce the divisions which he had left upon the Mincio; but they arrived too late to take part in the battle of Lonato. On the 4th, Wurmser was occupied with rallying his troops, renewing his artillery, and taking up a position in front of Castiglione. About two o'clock in the afternoon Napoleon reconnoitred the Austrian line of battle, and found that it presented a formidable array of from twenty-five to thirty thousand men. His own course, in making arrangements for the battle which was to be fought the next day, was, first, to provide that the troops of Quasdonowich's division were kept from the scene of action, and secondly, that as large a number as possible of his own troops were assembled during the evening at Castiglione. He despatched orders to Serrurier, who was at Marcaria with five thousand men, to march all night, and fall upon the enemy's left at daybreak, which was to be the signal for the battle to be opened in front. He then ordered Castiglione to be entrenched, and set out for Lonato. Quasdonowich's division having been defeated at Salo and Lonato, and driven back from Brescia, had been completely disordered and broken up; and being confused by the rapid marches of their foes, who appeared in full force at one moment at Brescia, and at another at Lonato, they were wander-

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ing about in utter confusion. Throughout the day, Herbin, D'Allemagne, Soret, and St. Hilaire, were pursuing them closely; and whole battalions laid down their arms at Saint-Ozetto, Gavardo, and elsewhere. A singular incident occurred with one of these corps at Lonato, where the French force was not more than twelve hundred men. A body of four or five thousand Austrians, being informed by the peasants of the small number of the French soldiers in that town, hoped to make their way through to Mantua, and accordingly summoned the place to surrender. The flag of truce entered about five o'clock in the afternoon, just as Napoleon was coming in from Castiglione. He ordered his numerous staff to mount, had the officer brought in, and the bandage taken off his eyes in the midst of the crowd and splendor of the headquarters of a commander-in-chief. "Go and tell your general," said Napoleon, "that I allow him eight minutes to lay down his arms; he is in the midst of the French army: after that time there is no hope for him." Terrified by this confident style, and fatigued and disheartened by wandering for some days without knowledge of their position, these men laid down their arms to one fourth their number. The rest of the 4th and the whole night were occupied in calling together all the troops and concentrating them at Castiglione. Before daybreak on the 5th, a French army of twenty thousand men occupied an excellent position on the heights of that town. As soon as the fire of Serrurier's division, which in the illness of that officer was commanded by General Fiorella, was heard on the right, the whole army advanced. The Austrian left rested upon the hill of Medole, which was the principal centre of con-

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flict. Marmont directed a heavy fire of artillery against it, and Verdier led a charge by which it was carried: the centre under Augereau, and the right under Massena, were then driven back, while Fiorella took the left in rear. The Austrians, routed at all points, retreated in confusion beyond the Mincio; Wurmser himself, whose headquarters were surprised by the light artillery, was very near being captured; and nothing but the excessive fatigue of the French troops, who had been executing such extraordinary marches for the last four or five days, prevented the whole Austrian army from being taken prisoners, or put to the sword. An Austrian corps blockading Peschiera were attacked by Colonel Suchet with great gallantry, and broken with the loss of eighteen pieces of cannon. These battles decided the campaign. Wurmser having lost half his army, withdrew his men in every direction and retired into the Tyrol. On the 7th, Napoleon, with Serrurier's division, took Verona after a brief, but sharp assault. Massena, on the 11th, reoccupied the Montebaldo; and Augereau ascended to the heights of Alla. On the 12th, St. Hilaire, pursuing Quasdonowich, took possession of all the posts on the right of Lake Garda, as high as Riva. Thus, in twelve days, between the 29th of July to the 10th of August, the French army, which, like a spring, had been pressed in upon itself, only to fly back with irresistible recoil, had left their positions, destroyed the second Austrian army, and recovered all their positions, having taken fifteen thousand prisoners, seventy cannon, and nine stands of colors, and killed or wounded twenty-five thousand men; with a loss of fourteen hundred taken, six hundred killed, and five thousand wounded, for the

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most part slightly. It is scarcely possible to conceive of a finer display of the perfection of military art than this brief campaign; in which the observer is at a loss whether most to admire the profound intellectual reasonings in which the arrangements had their origin, or the energy and valor with which they were executed. The besieging train before Mantua having been sacrificed, Napoleon, in resuming operations in regard to it, contented himself with a mere blockade, which was established under General Sahuguet.

During the last fortnight of August, both armies were vigorously recruiting: Wurmser, whose headquarters were at Trent, received an accession of twenty thousand, and about the same number from Kellerman's army joined Napoleon. The campaign reopened on the 1st of September; and the Austrians, in its inception, made the same fatal error of dividing their force, while Napoleon held a central position in front of them. Wurmser, at the head of three divisions and a fine cavalry, consisting, in all, of thirty thousand men, marched from Trent, by the defiles of the Brenta and through Bassano, to the relief of Mantua, leaving Davidowich, with his headquarters at Roveredo, in command of twenty-five thousand men in two divisions, one under Wukassowich, with its vanguard at Serravalle, and the other under the Prince de Reuss at Mori, with its vanguard at the bridge of Sarca. As soon as Napoleon heard of Wurmser's intentions, he determined instantly to throw his whole army on Davidowich, and accomplish the double object of destroying that wing in detail, and of preventing any detachments being sent to the army of the Rhine. Accordingly, leaving General Kilmaine, at Verona and

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Legnano, to guard the Adige, and cover the blockade of Milan, he ordered the left wing of his army, consisting of Vaubois's division, on the left side of the Lake de Garda, to advance upon Trent, upon the 1st of September; and at the same time, with Massena's division, followed by Augereau's, he marched up the left bank of the Adige. St. Hilaire, commander of Vaubois's vanguard, attacked Reuss furiously at the bridge of Sarca, carried it at the point of the bayonet, made many prisoners, and pursued the enemy to Mori; while General Pigeon, in command of Massena's van, overthrew Wukassowich at Serravalle, and pursued them with much loss to Saint-Marc. On the 4th, the armies met in front of Roveredo; after an obstinate contest, Napoleon, at a critical moment, ordered General Dubois to charge with five hundred horse, which decided the day. The Austrians flying, entered Roveredo intermixed with the French in close pursuit, and finally rallied in a defile before Calliano, where Davidowich held a reserve between the mountains. Sending some tirailleurs to annoy the enemy from the heights, Napoleon ordered a charge of nine battalions in close column through the defile; the enemy, overwhelmed and swept away, fled with the loss of seven hundred men, fifteen pieces of cannon, and seven stands of colors. At daybreak, on the 5th, the French army entered Trent; and Davidowich, who had rallied the wreck of his army behind the Avisio, three leagues from that city, having been turned and then charged by Vaubois, abandoned his position in great confusion, and Vaubois established himself on the banks of the Avisio. Thus, within five days from the opening of

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the campaign, the Austrian right of twenty thousand men was utterly discomfited and destroyed.

About this time, Wurmser, supposing that Napoleon was about to march to Innspruck to join the army of the Rhine, conceived the bold design of advancing to the Adige and cutting off the French army from Italy. He had scarcely began to execute this presumptuous design, when Napoleon, like an offended deity, was thundering down the passes of the Brenta upon him, and he, with the fragment of an army, was flying for his life to Mantua. On the 5th, Wurmser, who, with the divisions of Sebottendorf, Quasdonowich, and Mezaros, was descending the Brenta to Bassano, advanced the last to Vicenza, with orders to attack Verona. Napoleon heard of this on the night of the 5th, and resolved instantly to proceed down the Brenta and attack Wurmser and the other two divisions at Bassano; if they retired toward the Adige, he had them cut off from communication with Austria; if they drew off toward the Frioul, he had Mezaros's division shut in between the Brenta and the Adige, and a certain prey. But everything depended on the rapidity of the march. On the 6th, at daybreak, placing Augereau in front and Massena in the second column, Napoleon began to descend the defiles of the Brenta: on the 7th, he fell in with Wurmser's rear at Primolano, posted in what was deemed an impregnable position. The light-infantry were sent forward to skirmish on the heights, and three battalions charging in three close columns, the double line of the Austrians was broken, and forty-two hundred prisoners, twelve pieces of artillery, and five stands of colors taken. On the same day, Wurmser's headquarters, with Sebottendorf's and Quasdonowich's di-

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visions and the reserves, reached Bassano, which is at the termination of the defiles; and a line of battle twenty thousand strong was drawn up on the plain, and six battalions posted in the passes on both sides of the river. Before daylight on the 8th, Napoleon was at the advanced posts; at six o'clock the passes were carried; and Augereau and Massena assailing the enemy's line with impetuosity, it broke in every direction and fled into Bassano. The bridge was carried by a charge in close column, and by three o'clock the army was in Bassano, capturing six thousand prisoners, eight stands of colors, thirty-two pieces of cannon, one hundred ammunition-wagons, and two ponton trains. Pushing on, Quasdonowich, with three thousand men, was separated from the rest of the army and thrown back upon the Frioul, while Wurmser, separated from his communication with Austria, rallied at Vicenza, where he was joined by Mezaros. He who, eight days before, had been at the head of sixty thousand men at Trent and Roveredo, had now but sixteen thousand men united under him, and was in infinite peril of being surrounded, and compelled to lay down his arms. Massena advanced to Vicenza, and Augereau to Padua: Wurmser's only escape was into Mantua. Kilmaine was at Verona with three thousand men, and as Wurmser had lost his pontons, his arrest at the Adige would have been inevitable, had Napoleon's order to destroy the bridge been faithfully complied with; but a lieutenant-colonel, charged with destroying the bridge at Legnano, neglected to do it, and Wurmser crossed the Adige upon it, and marched for Mantua. Vexed at the failure of his prospect of terminating the campaign by the capture of the old marshal and all

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his army, Napoleon advanced through Arcole to Ronco on the Adige, and pushed forward General Pigeon with Massena's vanguard to Sanguinetto, and Murat with five hundred light-horse to Cerea to reconnoitre, in hopes of yet cutting Wurmser off before he reached Milan. But the old marshal turned in his rage. He deployed his whole army around Ceva, and captured three or four hundred of the light vanguard; Napoleon himself, having galloped up to the village, had only time to clap his spurs to his horse and escape before Wurmser came up to the spot, and learning the circumstances from an old woman, sent in pursuit in every direction, with particular orders to bring him in alive. At Villa-Impenta on the 12th, and at Due-Castelli on the 14th, similar slight successes were had, in the capture of battalions of five hundred men—successes which, though trifling, encouraged the Austrians to keep the field. The garrison of Mantua came out; and Wurmser encamped with an army of twenty-five thousand men, of whom five thousand were cavalry, behind St. George's. On the 16th, General Bon, in command of Augereau's division, having on the 13th taken seventeen hundred prisoners and twenty-four pieces of artillery at Legnano, and liberated five hundred prisoners who had been taken at Ceva and elsewhere, now advanced to Governolo, and formed the left wing of the army: Massena, in the centre, occupied Due-Castelli; while Sahuguet had collected the blockading troops at La Favorita on the right, and Kilmaine was at the head of a considerable body of cavalry. The French army in all amounted to twenty-four thousand men. On the 19th, General Bon advanced from Governolo along the right bank of the

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Mincio upon St. George's, but was met with great force and somewhat repulsed; at the same time, Sahuguet attacked on the right, and the enemy thinking that the whole line was in motion, sent all their reserves into action. Massena then charged in column on the centre, threw the Austrians into disorder, and drove them into the town, taking eleven pieces of cannon, three standards, and three thousand prisoners, among whom was a mounted regiment of cuirassiers. On the 21st, Wurmser made a final attempt to regain the Adige by an attack on Governolo, but was repulsed with the loss of one thousand men and six pieces of cannon; and on the 1st of October, driving in all the enemy, and shutting up Wurmser with sixteen thousand men, completed the blockade of Mantua. In nineteen days, from the time that the campaign had opened, Napoleon had traversed an immense circuit, —from Verona up the Adige to Trent, and thence along the valley of the Brenta to Bassano, and thence to Mantua: he had utterly disorganized and demolished an Austrian army of sixty thousand men; he had killed three thousand of the enemy, wounded six thousand, and made eighteen thousand prisoners, and taken seventy-five pieces of cannon. His own loss had been eighteen hundred killed, forty-three hundred wounded, and fourteen hundred taken.

No operations in the field took place during the month of October; but the campaign recommenced on the 1st of November. The Austrians had assembled two armies: one of eighteen thousand men, under Davidowich, in the Tyrol; the other of forty thousand men, under Alvinzi, in the Frioul. The French army, which had been recruited during September and

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October by twelve battalions from the army of La Vendée, amounted, exclusively of ten thousand occupied around Mantua, to thirty-two thousand men, and was disposed as follows: twelve thousand were under Vaubois, in Trent and on the Avisio; eight thousand under Massena were advanced to Bassano, observing Alvinzi; while in a central point, behind both these advanced positions, upon which, if driven in, both could concentrate, and from which Napoleon could in a brief space give aid to either, namely, at Verona, headquarters were established, with Augereau's division and the reserves of cavalry, amounting in all to twelve thousand men. Napoleon's concentric positions were admirably adapted for safety and defence, in case reverses should be sustained; while his offensive plan was, if he could drive Alvinzi back to the Piave, to ascend the Brenta by Bassano, and in conjunction with Vaubois fall upon Davidowich. This union of prudence in his dispositions with boldness in his designs is the characteristic greatness of Napoleon, which commends his campaigns at once to the profound respect of the military critic and the unbounded admiration of the popular reader. No man was ever more daring, or less rash. In making provision for a bold operation, he never put anything at risk, or violated any law of regular military science. The importance of always having a defensive plan, in case the offensive scheme should be frustrated, and the perfection of the one established on this occasion, were strikingly displayed before the campaign was ended.

On the 1st of November, Alvinzi crossed the Piave on two bridges, and advanced in three columns upon Bassano. Massena having manœuvred in such a way

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as to compel him to deploy his whole army, and show its force to be forty thousand, retired to Vicenza, where Napoleon joined him with Augereau's division and the reserves. On the 6th, at daybreak, Napoleon marched out to attack Alvinzi, who had crossed the Brenta and approached Vicenza. The Austrian right, under Quasdonowich, was at Lenove, between Vicenza and Bassano; the left was commanded by Provera; while the centre, under Liptay, was advanced to Carmignano: Hohenzollern being in reserve. Massena, at dawn, attacked the left and centre, and after a protracted conflict, drove them back across the Brenta with great loss; and Napoleon, with Augereau's division, drove the right into Bassano about four o'clock in the afternoon, and was hastening to force the bridge and enter the town, when a party of nine hundred Croats threw themselves into a village, and defended it with such obstinacy that, before they were taken, the delay prevented the French from passing the Brenta that night: and the intelligence which arrived from Vaubois's wing, compelled them to pause in their career of victory and retire at once to Verona. Vaubois, according to orders from Napoleon, began operations by attacking the enemy's positions at St. Michael and Sogonzano, behind Trent, on the 1st and 2d of November, but without success. He was then attacked in great force, driven from the Avisio, and retreated through Trent upon Calliano; when Landon, with his Tyrolese, descending the right bank of the Adige, outflanked him, and threatened to occupy Montebaldo and Rivoli, and cut off Vaubois's retreat to Verona. Intelligence of these disasters reached Napoloon at two o'clock on the morning of the 7th: he immediately sent Colonel Vignoles,

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of his staff, with orders to collect all the troops he could find, and march upon La Corona and Rivoli. He found a battalion which had just arrived from La Vendée, and being joined by Joubert with a regiment from before Mantua, those positions were secured, and Vaubois then crossed to the right bank and occupied them in force. On the 7th, Napoleon led the whole French army back through Vicenza into Verona. He then set out for Rivoli, and having assembled Vaubois's division on the plateau, addressed them thus: "Soldiers, I am not satisfied with you; you have shown neither discipline, perseverance, nor bravery: no position could rally you: you abandoned yourselves to panic. You were driven from positions where a few brave men might have arrested an army. Soldiers of the thirty-ninth and eighty-fifth, you are not French soldiers. Quartermaster-general! let it be inscribed on their colors: '*They no longer form a part of the army of Italy.*'" The "*Quirites*" of Cesar was not more magical in its effects. The men burst into tears: several grenadiers, who had received distinctions for their bravery, cried out: "General, we have been slandered: place us in the van, and you will see whether the thirty-ninth and eighty-fifth belong to the army of Italy!" Napoleon then seemed to relent, and promised them one more opportunity to recover their character. Having thus restored confidence in the left wing, he returned to Verona.

Meanwhile, Alvinzi, who, after the battle of the 6th, was at three o'clock on the 7th in full retreat for the Piave, returned as soon as he was apprized of the retreat of the French, and was now in position on the heights of Caldiero, within three leagues of Verona.

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Napoleon, on the 11th, made some demonstrations against him, upon which it became obvious that he intended to receive battle in that position. On the 12th, Napoleon marched out: Alvinzi's left rested on the marsh of Arcole, and was impregnable; his centre was on Caldiero, and his right on Colognola. But the last was in a false position, being outflanked by a hill which it had neglected to occupy. Massena, who had received orders to occupy this height, sent Launay with a brigade, who scaled the hill, but becoming too far advanced, was cut off, and made prisoner, and the enemy took possession of the hill. The whole line became engaged, and the fire continued during the day: the rain fell in torrents, and the French artillery became fastened in the mud: but no impression was made on the Austrian positions, and at night Napoleon returned to his camp before Verona. His situation was one of infinite peril. Vaubois had lost four thousand, and had not now more than eight thousand men. Napoleon's own force after the battle of Caldiero, did not exceed thirteen thousand, and Alvinzi had at least thirty-five thousand, posted in admirable positions. From these dangers, the inventive genius of Napoleon alone afforded a resource.

It is necessary here to give particular attention to the localities around Verona. The road from Verona to Vicenza runs through Villa Nuova, a town situated on the small stream of the Aplon, about three miles above the village of Arcole, which is on the left bank of the Aplon, and at the distance of a mile above Alvaredo, where the rivulet falls into the Adige. To the left of the road from Verona to Villa Nuova, and on the right bank of the Aplon, the Austrian army was as-

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sembled around Caldiero. The triangle between the road, the Adige, and the Aplon, is a deep marsh, traversed by three chaussées which branch out from the ferry of Ronco, on the Adige, half a mile above Alvaredo, at the mouth of the Aplon. The left chaussée runs from Ronco to Verona, through the village of Porcil, which is upon the edge of the marsh: the centre chaussée, which leads through Arcole to Villa Nuova, runs from Ronco about three quarters of a mile to the Aplon, then proceeds up along the right bank of that stream about a half a mile, to a stone bridge, which it crosses, and enters Arcole, and then goes along the left bank to Villa Nuova: the right chaussée descends the Adige from Ronco to Alvaredo. Napoleon having found Caldiero impregnable in front, and feeling that thirteen thousand men could never contend upon a plain against forty thousand, determined to pass round behind Verona to Ronco, to cross there and take Alvinzi in flank and rear through these chaussées, in which the advantage of numbers was lost, and everything depended on the courage and force of the fronts of columns. This brilliant conception of the mind of the commander-in-chief was, however, concealed from the troops.

At nightfall on the 14th of November, the army were withdrawn from the camp of Verona, marshalled in three columns, led across the city, out of the gate toward Milan, and over the Adige. A profound silence prevailed, and the brave men, disheartened by the affair at Caldiero, supposed that a retreat was begun, and that the land in which they won such glory was to be abandoned. Suddenly they were wheeled to the left, and found themselves descending the right

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bank of the Adige to Ronco, where they crossed on a bridge constructed by Andreossi, and then discovered that, instead of retiring, they were about to take the enemy in flank. Every one comprehended the splendid design of the commander-in-chief, and the utmost confidence prevailed. On the following morning, the army was divided into three columns: one on the right chaussée, under Guyeux, which was to cross the Aplon at Alvaredo, ascend the left bank of that rivulet, and cut off the retreat; one under Augereau and the commander-in-chief, which was to pass along the centre road through Arcole; and a third under Massena, which ascended the left dike toward Porcil, and thus obviated the only danger which this daring plan carried with it—that Alvinzi, by a rapid march, might move off upon his right beyond Verona, and communicate with Davidowich. The columns all advanced at the same time. Massena reached the village of Porcil, whence the steeples of Verona were seen: the centre column advanced along the chaussée of Arcole, until the head of it was near the bridge, when a heavy fire was opened on their right flank by two battalions of Croats with two pieces of cannon, who had bivouacked on the left bank of the Aplon, having their right toward the bridge and their left toward the mouth of the stream, being stationed there to observe Legnano. Being separated only by the stream from the chaussée, which here runs along the right bank, their front fire told with fearful effect upon the flank of the column; and it fell back precipitately to the point where the chaussée turned off from the rivulet, and was no longer exposed to a fire from the left bank. Augereau immediately placed himself at the head of two battalions and rushed for-

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ward to the bridge; but the flank fire speedily compelled him to fall back upon his division. Meanwhile, Alvinzi had become apprized of the attack upon his right, and though he supposed that only some light troops had been sent into the marshes, he saw the vital necessity of clearing them out without any delay. He accordingly ordered a division under Provera to sweep the left chaussée: they advanced about nine o'clock in the morning; Massena allowed them to get fairly upon it, and then, charging with desperate impetuosity, broke the column and drove it off with great loss. About the same time, Metrouski's division marched down the centre chaussée; but the moment they had passed the elbow in the road, they were assailed by Augereau's column, and routed with the loss of many prisoners and cannon, and a great number of killed. The most resolute efforts were then made to carry the bridge, which would enable them to reach Villa-Nuova and cut off Alvinzi's retreat: but several attacks were repulsed. Napoleon then placed himself at the head of the column, seized a flag, rushed upon the bridge, and planted it there. The column, which had reached the centre of the bridge, was there met by a fresh division of the Austrians, while the flanking fire again opened with increased force: it retreated, carrying Napoleon with them, seizing him by the arms and clothes, and dragging him along among the dead, the dying, and the smoke. He was precipitated into a morass, in which he sank to the middle, surrounded by the enemy. A cry was instantly heard: "Forward, soldiers, to save the general!" The grenadiers rallied, charged with irresistible fury, drove the enemy over the bridge, and saved Napoleon. Lannes received three wounds,

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and Muiron, aide-de-camp, was killed, while covering the general with their persons.

Meanwhile, Alvinzi, becoming at last apprized that he was assaulted in flank by the whole French army, precipitately abandoned Caldiero, and retreated behind the Aplon. General Guyeux, who had been delayed in crossing that stream, marched up the left bank about four in the afternoon, and took possession of Arcole without opposition. The battle, though not decisive, had driven Alvinzi from Verona, defeated two of his divisions with great loss, and restored to the French arms the prestige of victory. Napoleon, however, had to operate in reference to Vaubois. Before the battle of Arcole began, he had been apprized that Davidowich had taken La Corona and Rivoli, and that Vaubois had retired to Bussolengo. What had taken place on this day he had not yet learned, but providing for the worst, he drew the whole army back to the right bank of the Adige on the night of the 15th, leaving a force before Arcole to conceal the movement from Alvinzi: so that, if Davidowich had advanced, the two corps of the French army might unite, and the danger of being cut off might be avoided. At four the next morning, intelligence arrived that Davidowich had not moved, and Napoleon determined again to advance against Alvinzi. The latter, discovering the retirement of the French about three o'clock in the morning, occupied Arcole and Porcil, and at daylight advanced two columns along the two dikes. The French crossed the bridge of Ronco at charging step, fell upon the enemy, broke both columns, and drove them beyond the morass with great loss, taking several standards and cannon. In the evening, Napoleon,

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upon the same considerations as before, withdrew his army again over the Adige; but at five o'clock on the following morning, learning that Davidowich and Vaubois retained their positions, he again recrossed the bridge, and the heads of his columns above half-way on the chaussées met those of Alvinzi, who, supposing that Napoleon had retired to Milan, debouched from his camp before dawn. On the centre chaussée, the French after some time gave way, and the enemy approached the bridge, when the regiment (the thirty-second) which Napoleon had placed in ambush, lying on their faces among some willows on the edge of the chaussée, suddenly rose, fired a volley, charged with bayonet, and overthrew into the marsh a close column of three thousand Croats, who all perished there. On the left chaussée, Massena at first met with some difficulty, but holding up his hat upon the end of his sword, he charged at the head of his column, and forced the enemy back with dreadful slaughter. Napoleon now conceived that the time had come for a decisive trial of strength with Alvinzi. Counting his prisoners, and estimating the enemy's killed and wounded, he inferred that in these three days the Austrian army had been diminished by twenty-five thousand men, which restored the respective armies to something like an equality. Accordingly, in the afternoon, he ordered the whole army to defile across the right chaussée, and to pass upon a bridge which had been constructed across the Aplon near its mouth, and to take position on the plain on the left bank of that stream. Accordingly, at two o'clock, the army came into line, with its left on Arcole, and its right toward Legnano; the Austrians being on both sides of the

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great road between Verona and Vicenza, with their right on the Aplon and their left on some marshes. As soon as the engagement became general in front, Major Hercule was sent with twenty-five guides and four trumpets to attack the extreme left of the enemy, while Adjutant-General Lorset, who had been ordered up from Legnano with six hundred men, four pieces of cannon, and two hundred horse, turned the marshes and took the enemy in rear. The Austrian line was broken in every direction, and closely pursued by the whole army as far as Villa-Nuova, and by the cavalry to Vicenza, in the utmost disorder. Having chased the Austrians into Vicenza, the French army returned to Verona, amid the boundless enthusiasm of the inhabitants, who three days before had seen them march out in silence and despondency. In the three days' engagements at Arcole, the Austrians lost twelve thousand killed and wounded, six thousand prisoners, four standards, and eighteen pieces of cannon. A staff-officer sent by Davidowich to Alvinzi being captured, it was ascertained, that during those three days the two divisions of the army had had no communication, and that Davidowich was not aware of anything that had taken place. The French army immediately marched against him. Massena crossed the Adige, joined Vaubois, who on the 17th had been driven on Castel-Nuovo, and they attacked Rivoli; while Augereau, on the left bank, marched on Dolce, and took fifteen hundred men, nine pieces of cannon, and two ponton trains.

The spirit of Austria, however, was not yet broken. She accumulated in the Frioul and the Tyrol a large force, drafted in part from the army on the Rhine, which was now in winter-quarters, and in part supplied

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by voluntary enlistment from the great cities. In the beginning of January, 1797, the Austrian force ready to enter Italy was, in all, about seventy thousand men under arms. Their plan of attack contemplated the same twofold line of operation that had so often proved fatal to them. Alvinzi, whose headquarters were at Roveredo, was to descend by Montebaldo and the upper Adige, while Provera, whose headquarters were at Padua, was to ascend the lower Adige, and by one or other of these corps it was hoped that Mantua might be relieved, and a junction effected with the force which the pope, now actively opposed to the Republic, was assembling in the south. On the 12th, intelligence reached Verona that both of these Austrian divisions were in motion: Alvinzi was pressing down upon Joubert, who had been entrenched at La Corona, and Provera was advancing upon Augereau, who was at Legnano. Napoleon, who was at Bologna, being informed of these movements, instantly came up to Verona; withdrew behind that city, on the night of the 12th, Massena's division, which had just routed Bayalitch's division which had advanced from Caldiero; and assembling such other troops as he could collect, stood ready to give aid to Joubert, or to Augereau, as either might most stand in need of assistance. The intelligence hitherto received, did not render it possible to judge which of the Austrian divisions constituted the main body of their army. At ten o'clock in the evening, expresses came in from both Joubert and Augereau, which made it certain that the principal force was with Alvinzi. Joubert had been retiring all day before an immense army extending from the Adige to Lake Garda, and had with difficulty succeeded in

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keeping possession of the plateau of Rivoli: on the other hand, the force under Provera, on the Adige, did not appear to exceed twenty thousand men, and Augereau's division seemed sufficient to defend the passage of that river against them. Napoleon instantly put Massena's division and the other troops with him in motion, to reach Riv[illegible] at daybreak; and he mounted his horse for the same point, and arrived on the plateau at two o'clock in the morning, on the 14th of January. It had been raining violently during the evening, but the weather had now cleared, and the moon was shining brilliantly. Napoleon ascended several heights and observed the positions of the enemy, whose fires beyond the plateau lighted up the whole country between the lake of Garda and the Adige. He distinguished four camps, each comprising a column, on the right bank of the Adige, and one upon the left bank; and he calculated the force to be about forty or forty-five thousand. The cavalry and artillery were with the fourth column, which was on the road near the river; the second and third columns were in the front and on the left of the plateau; while the first, nearest the lake, was extended very far forward, obviously with the design of getting in the rear of the French force on the plateau. It was clear that the second, third, and fourth columns were to debouch on the plateau, and thus unite the infantry, artillery, and cavalry, of the army. Napoleon's plan was taken: occupying a central position on the plateau, he determined to oppose his whole army to each of these columns as they were debouching, and to overwhelm them before they could unite with one another. The third Austrian column, under Koblos, was spread along the foot of Monte-

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Magnone, on the left of the chapel of Saint-Marc while the infantry of the fourth column, commanded by Ocskay, and consisting of fourteen battalions, were on the ridge beyond the chapel; and the artillery and infantry of that column, commanded by Quasdonowich, were at the foot of the hill to the right of the chapel. Joubert, who had evacuated the chapel, and only held the plateau by a rear-guard, was ordered instantly to regain it, and drive back Ocskay's column without waiting for daylight. Joubert despatched General Vial, who took the chapel, and then assailing with his whole force Ocskay's column, drove it back as far as the middle of the ridge of Monte-Magnone by daylight. The third Austrian column, under Koblos, then ascended the heights on the left, which it reached at nine o'clock; and attacking two French regiments in line in that position, broke one of them, and threw the whole line into confusion. Napoleon immediately brought up Massena's division, which had marched all night and was now resting in the village of Rivoli, charged with it, and put Koblos's column to flight by half-past ten o'clock; and stood prepared to encounter Liptay's column, as it came to the support of Koblos. Meanwhile, Quasdonowich, who was at the bottom of the valley on the right, observing that Joubert had advanced very far in pursuit of Ocskay, made an effort to ascend to the plateau and reach the chapel. He ordered three battalions to attempt the ascent, which was here extremely steep; but Joubert ordered back several of his own battalions, who reached the chapel before the enemy, and repulsed them back into the valley. Meanwhile, a French battery of fifteen pieces of cannon on the plateau overwhelmed all that attempt-

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ed to debouch: Leclerc and Lasalle, with five hundred cavalry in two bodies, charged with great intrepidity and drove the enemy into the ravine, capturing all that had reached the summit. This decided the day. One Austrian column on the left bank of the river, under Wukassowich, and all the infantry and cavalry, having been unable to debouch, were totally useless. In the meantime, the first column, which had advanced with a view to get behind the plateau, had encountered the French reserve of two regiments which was coming up from Dezenzano, and left one brigade to oppose it, and with the other, five thousand strong, deployed on the heights of Pipolo, in time to witness the route of Ocskay, Koblos, and Liptay. This body was without artillery. It was cannonaded by fifteen cannon of the reserve for a quarter of an hour, and then attacked and entirely taken; while the other brigade was driven back, and pursued and dispersed with prodigious loss. Joubert then advanced upon the retreating army with such rapidity that the whole Austrian force seemed likely at one time to be taken; but Alvinzi faced about with a reserve, and threw Joubert back and made good his retreat. The Austrian loss in this great and brilliant triumph of Napoleon, consisted, besides killed and wounded, of seven thousand prisoners, twelve pieces of cannon, and several colors. Napoleon had several horses killed, and was more than once surrounded by the enemy.

At two o'clock on this day, in the midst of the battle of Rivoli, Napoleon was informed that General Provera was preparing to cross the Adige at Anghiari, near Legnago, and to march upon Mantua. On the 15th Napoleon, leaving Massena, Murat, and Joubert,

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to pursue Alvinzi, which they did with such vigor as to capture six thousand men during the retreat, put himself at the head of four regiments to march to Mantua, a distance of thirteen leagues. On the 16th Hohenzollern and Provera had made a vigorous attack on St.-Georges, which was defended by Miolis, with fifteen hundred men; Wurmser had made a sortie with the garrison and occupied a position at La Favorita. Napoleon immediately placed General Victor, with the four regiments which he had brought from Rivoli, between La Favorita and Saint-Georges, to prevent the garrison from joining the succoring army. Serrurier, at the head of the blockading troops, then attacked the garrison, and drove them back into the town by two o'clock; and Victor's division attacked Provera with such vigor that he capitulated and lay down his arms. In this battle the fifty-seventh won the title of *Terrible*, from the irresistible fury with which it attacked the Austrian line and overthrew everything in its way. Six thousand prisoners, among whom were several generals, and a large number of standards and much baggage, were taken. Provera's rear-guard in the meantime was attacked by a part of Augereau's division and taken; and of all his force, only two thousand men, who had remained beyond the Adige, escaped: all the rest were killed or taken. The Austrians retired, and the French advanced, in all directions: Joubert entered Trent, and Massena occupied Bassano, with his advanced posts on the Piave. Thus in four days was the last and greatest army of Austria utterly destroyed, with the loss of twenty-five thousand prisoners, sixty pieces of cannon, and twenty-four stands of colors, besides

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ten thousand killed and wounded. Bessieres carried the colors to Paris.

This brief winter campaign exhibits, in greater distinctness and splendor than any other achievement of Napoleon's life, the peculiar characteristics of his system and manner of war. The advantages of his method of occupying a central position, and by rapidity of marches accumulating united forces upon distinct points of attack, are displayed in great brilliancy. At the opening of hostilities, he draws Massena's division behind Verona to a point from which, in the briefest time, he could either join Joubert or relieve Mantua, as one or the other should be the principal object of attack; by this corps, with which he had marched all night, the battle of Rivoli was decided; and by the force with which he returned on the following day to Mantua, the capitulation of Provera was effected, and the fate of Wurmser sealed. The battle of Rivoli, also, viewed by itself, illustrates the same great principle of a united force operating by successive radiations from a centre against a divided force, and shows it to be as applicable to a single engagement as to a campaign. Placing himself upon the plateau upon which the divisions of the Austrian army must debouch, he hurls the whole force of his infantry, cavalry, and artillery, against the separated parts of a much larger army. The lightning-like rapidity, too, and prodigious results which characterize these operations, are features especially Napoleonic. And there is this consideration, moreover, which may be used in judging of the whole character and career of this commander—that while the imagination is inflamed by the wonders of

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the triumph, so that it instinctively conceives of a superhuman energy and an unearthly destiny, the more searching mind perceives that these immense effects are the ordinary result of perfect science, applied by an intellect of the first order of quickness and accuracy, and urged by a fiery will, and the most earnest exertions of spirit and of body.

These occurrences decided the fall of Mantua; but the pride of the old marshal remained unabated by misfortune. When summoned to surrender, he replied that he had provisions for a twelvemonth. A few days after, his principal aide-de-camp, Klenau, came to Serrurier's headquarters, and stated, that though the garrison had abundant supplies for three months, yet, as relief from Austria even in that time might be doubtful, the conduct of Wurmser would be regulated by the conditions he should receive; Serrurier replied, that he should take the orders of the commander-in-chief. Napoleon went to Roverbella, and was present, incognito, wrapped in his cloak, while the conversation between Klenau and Serrurier proceeded. While the former expatiated at great length on the vast resources for defence which Mantua still possessed, Napoleon approached the table, took a pen, and while the discussion went on, wrote his decisions on the margin of Wurmser's proposals. When he had finished, he handed the paper to Klenau, and said: "If Wurmser had only provisions for eighteen or twenty days, and talked of surrendering, he would not deserve an honorable capitulation: but I respect the age, the bravery, and the misfortunes of the marshal. Here are the conditions which I grant him if he opens his gates to-morrow. If he delays a fortnight, a month, or two months,

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he shall receive the same terms. He may therefore hold out, if he pleases, to his last morsel of bread. I shall pass the Po immediately, and march to Rome. You know my views; communicate them to your general." Klenau, at first astonished by this singular address, soon comprehended who it was that spoke to him. He examined the paper, and the generous treatment which it provided, filled him with gratitude. He then acknowledged that Wurmser had not provisions for more than three days. By these terms, the marshal, with his staff and five hundred men, was allowed to retire into Austria, and the remainder of the garrison were to be surrendered as prisoners-of-war, and to be sent to Trieste to be exchanged. Napoleon set off at once for Romagna; and Serrurier presided at the ceremony of the surrender. In the three blockades since June, twenty-seven thousand five hundred soldiers had been killed in the sorties, or had died in the hospitals; but the garrison still amounted to twenty thousand, of whom twelve thousand were fit for service; and besides Wurmser's staff, there were in the city thirty generals, and eighty commissaries and agents. Napoleon's absence from the flattering spectacle of the general-in-chief of the Austrian forces in Italy, a marshal of great reputation, delivering up his sword at the head of his staff, was intended to impress Europe with a sense of the dignity of his character. Wurmser wrote to him expressing his gratitude for the terms which he had received, and subsequently gave him information of a design to poison him.

Napoleon at once proceeded against the pope, who, when Wurmser's army entered Italy, had refused to ratify the armistice of Bologna, and had co-operated

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with Austria in hostilities against France. The papal army was routed on the Senio, Ancona taken, and the Apennines crossed, when the holy see sent in its submission. The treaty of Tolentino was signed on the 19th of February; by this the pope engaged to pay thirty millions of francs, to cede Avignon and the Venaisin to France, to abandon Bologna, Romagna, and Ferrara, and to surrender one hundred works of art, to be selected by French commissioners; among which were subsequently named the Apollo, the Laocoon, and the Transfiguration. After the signature of the treaty, Napoleon returned to Mantua to give orders for the defence and armament of the place, and then visited Milan. He had the satisfaction at this time of reviewing the forces which the directory had detached from the northern armies, and sent into Italy across the Alps. These consisted of two divisions, each of six regiments of infantry and two of cavalry; one division being from the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and commanded by Bernadotte, and the other from the army of the Rhine, and commanded by Delmas. Their joint force was estimated at thirty thousand men, but in actual strength did not exceed twenty thousand.

1797.

The advantages that had been gained over the French armies in Germany, and the brilliant reputation which the archduke Charles had acquired there, induced the court of Vienna, in the ensuing campaign, to detach six divisions from their forces on the Rhine and send them into Italy, and to oppose the archduke himself to Napoleon. To this prince, Napoleon subsequently rendered a high tribute of respect and admiration: "His soul," he remarked, "belongs to the heroic age, but

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his heart to that of gold: more than all, he is a good man, and that includes all things when it is said of a prince." The orders of the Aulic council to the archduke were, to cover the roads to Vienna through the Frioul: and accordingly, in the beginning of March, he established himself with an army of 1797. thirty-five thousand men behind the Piave, which was in addition to a force of fifteen thousand in the Tyrol, and the detachment of forty thousand from the Rhine, which were expected to arrive in the course of April. The French army now in Italy consisted, in all, of eight divisions of infantry and a reserve of cavalry, and amounted in number to sixty-one thousand men, of whom five thousand were cavalry, and three thousand belonged to the artillery, consisting of one hundred and twenty guns. These were distributed as follows: Seventeen thousand, consisting of Delmas's, Baraguay d'Hilliers's, and Joubert's divisions, and Dumas's brigade of cavalry, were united near Trent, under Lieutenant-General Joubert; Massena's, Serrurier's, Guyeux's, and Bernadotte's divisions of infantry, with Dugua's division of cavalry of reserve, were in the Bassanese and Trevisan country, with advanced posts on the right bank of the Piave: Victor's corps was still in the Apennines, but was expected to reach the Adige in the beginning of April, and there to observe the Venetians, whose hostility to the French republic was now less than doubtful. Napoleon determined to attack the archduke before the divisions from the Rhine, four of which were ordered to the Frioul and two into the Tyrol, could arrive; and he, accordingly, fixed his headquarters at Bassano, on the 9th of March, while those divisions were still twenty days'

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march behind; and in the order of that day, he announced to the army that peace was now to be sought in the heart of the hereditary states and before the gates of Vienna. From this part of the country, there are two great roads to Vienna — the direct, Carinthian road, which runs through San-Daniele, Ponteba on the upper Tagliamento, the pass of Tarwis in the Carnic Alps, Villach, Klagenfurth, and Bruck, to Vienna, making ninety-five leagues from San-Daniele to Vienna; and the more circuitous Carniolan road, which crosses the Isonzo at Gradisca, and passes through Goritz, Marburg, and Gratz, to Bruck, where it joins the other road, making one hundred and five leagues from Goritz to Vienna. Massena was sent northward from Bassano to cut off the Austrians from the Ponteba road: he took Feltre, Cadore, and Belluno, crossed the Piave in the mountains, routed General Lusignan's division, and drove it beyond the Tagliamento, taking six hundred prisoners, including Lusignan, and several pieces of cannon. On the 12th of March, Serrurier's and Guyeux's divisions crossed the Piave, the former at daybreak before Asolo, the latter at two in the afternoon at Ospedaletto before Treviso, and marched to Conegliano, where headquarters were established; and Bernadotte's division, which was at Padua, arrived there on the following day. The Austrians retired from the Piave for the purpose of giving battle on the plains of the Tagliamento, which were favorable to the action of their numerous cavalry; their rear-guard, on the night of the 13th, made a stand at Sacile, but was overthrown by Guyeux. On the 16th, at nine o'clock in the morning, the two armies were in front of one another at Valvasone, the river Tagliamento being be-

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tween them. Guyeux's division formed the left of the French army, Serrurier's the centre, and Bernadotte's the right; their whole force being about equal to the Austrians, who were drawn up in the same order on the left bank. A cannonade from the banks was carried on for some time, and some charges of light cavalry made on the beach; but the French, finding the enemy well prepared, ceased firing, formed their bivouacs, and began to cook their messes. The Austrians thinking that the French, who had marched all night, were taking up a position, and would not resume the fight that day, withdrew into their camps: and after two hours, when all was quiet, the French soldiers suddenly rushed to arms. Bernadotte's and Guyeux's divisions, Murat and Duphot leading the vans of each respectively, plunged into the torrent, and, before the enemy were in arms, had passed in fine order, and were drawn up in line of battle on the left bank, with their light cavalry at the terminations of the line. The artillery opened in all directions. Serrurier's division, and Dugua's division of cavalry of reserve, forming the second line, passed the river as soon as the first line had advanced two hundred yards from the shore. The engagement was maintained for several hours with great gallantry, when a successful charge by Dugua having turned the Austrian flank, they beat a retreat, abandoning eight pieces of cannon to the French. As soon as this battle began, Massena had crossed the Piave at San-Daniele, and occupied the gorges of Ponteba, throwing back the remains of Orskay's division, which had been opposed to him, upon Tarwis; and he himself, according to his orders, now pressed forward upon that important pass.

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The archduke finding Massena in possession of Ponteba, determined to regain the Carinthian road by a crossway through Caporetto: and accordingly, after the battle of the Tagliamento, while he retired with part of his army to Palma-Nuova and Gradisca, to defend the Isonzo and cover Carniola, he despatched Bayalitch, with three divisions and the artillery, to recover the Carinthian road through Udine, Cividale, Caporetto, Austrian Chiusa, and Tarwis. The French general Guyeux was at once sent to follow this corps on the same route; and keeping up a close pursuit, had brisk actions every day with the Austrian rear, killing numbers and capturing prisoners, artillery, and baggage. Meanwhile, the archduke becoming aware how much nearer Massena was than Bayalitch to Tarwis, hastened in person to Klagenfurth, put himself at the head of a division of grenadiers which had arrived there from the Rhine, and marched forward and took a position before Tarwis. When Massena arrived, he found the archduke's forces, consisting of the remains of Orskay's troops and the fine division of grenadiers from Germany drawn up in line. A fierce and obstinate action ensued: on the French side, General Brune, afterward marshal, was distinguished for his bravery; and on the part of the Austrians, the archduke exposed himself with so much gallantry, that he was several times on the point of being taken by the French skirmishers. At length, the Austrians were utterly routed and dispersed. The remains of their force rallied at Villach; and Massena occupied Tarwis, fronting toward Austrian Chiusa, to receive Bayalitch's corps, whose fate was thus sealed. This force, when it reached Chiusa, thought itself safe; but was suddenly attacked in front

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by Massena and in rear by Guyeux, and had no recourse but to lay down their arms. Five thousand prisoners, including four generals, together with thirty-two pieces of cannon, and four hundred ammunition and baggage wagons with their teams, fell into the hands of the French.

The residue of the French army under Napoleon proceeded toward the Isonzo. Bernadotte appeared opposite to Gradisca on the Isonzo, and opened a cannonade from the right bank; while Napoleon, accompanying Serrurier's division, forded the river lower down, at the Montfalcon road, routing a body of Croats on the bank, and appeared on the elevated ground behind Gradisca. An assault which Bernadotte had allowed his troops to make, in their eagerness to reach the town before the soldiers of the army of Italy, had been repulsed with a loss of four hundred men; but as soon as the governor saw Serrurier on the heights, he capitulated, surrendering himself as a prisoner-of-war with three thousand men, two standards, and twenty field-pieces. Serrurier marched toward Tarwis through Austrian Chiusa to support Guyeux; Dugua with one thousand horse took possession of Trieste; Bernadotte advanced toward Laybach; and headquarters were fixed successively at Goritz, Caporetto, Tarwis, Villach, and Klagenfurth. At the last place, two Austrian divisions, under Kaim and Mercantin, which had marched from the Rhine, were in position, and attempted to make defence, but were repulsed with some loss. The French army was now in the valley of the Drave, within Germany, having passed the Julian and Carnic Alps.

During these operations, the forces in the Tyrol had been stationary. The Austrian general Kerpen, hourly

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expecting the two divisions from the Rhine, occupied the left bank of the Adige, behind the Avisio, covering St. Michael, and communicating with General Laudon on the opposite bank. After the battle of the Tagliamento, Napoleon sent orders to Joubert to drive Kerpen beyond the Brenner, and then to march by the Pusterthal, along the Drave, and join the army at Spital, near the Carinthian road. On the 20th of March, Joubert having received his orders, passed the Avisio with his own division at Segonzano, while Delmas and Baraguay d'Hilliers, with their divisions, passed on the Lavis bridge, and united against Kerpen at St. Michael, while Laudon, on the other side of the Adige, was an idle spectator of his defeat. Kerpen, driven from all his positions, had two thousand men killed, and lost three thousand prisoners and several standards and pieces of cannon. Joubert immediately advanced to Neumarck, passed the bridge, defeated Laudon between Neumarck and Tramin, and returned in the evening to Neumarck with twenty-five hundred prisoners and several pieces of cannon. In the meantime, the first Austrian division from the Rhine, under General Sporck, had reached Clausen; and in the rear of this division, in a position deemed impregnable, Kerpen rallied his troops. On the 24th, Joubert, with the greater part of his force, marched against them. While a sharp engagement took place in front, the French fusileers climbed the mountain which supported the enemy's right, and compelled him to retreat. Kerpen retired to Mittenwald, whither Joubert followed him and defeated him for the third time, on the 28th of March, and compelled him to retreat on the Brenner. Joubert having thus opened his way, and cleared the

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enemy from the rear, joined Napoleon with twelve thousand men and seven thousand Austrian prisoners. On every side, therefore, the success of the French had been brilliant and complete; and the safety of the Austrian capital was menaced.

At the commencement of the campaign, the plan had been for the armies of the Rhine and the Sambre and Meuse to advance into Germany, effect a junction with Napoleon, and march in combined force upon Vienna. The directory, however, seem to have become alarmed at the prospect of so large an army being placed under the command of a general so ambitious and aspiring; and on the 31st of March despatches reached Klagenfurth, announcing that the armies of Germany would not at present co-operate with that of Italy. Without a strong body of cavalry, Napoleon saw at a glance that he must abandon the project of entering Vienna; and he determined at once to make use of his position to arrange a peace, which he knew was the general wish of France. On the same day on which he received the directory's despatches, he wrote to the archduke Charles, making overtures for peace, to which that prince replied on the 2d of April, referring the subject to the emperor. Meanwhile, great consternation had prevailed in the capital; and the young archdukes and archduchesses, including Maria Louisa, then five and a half years old, had been sent in boats on the Danube into Hungary. Napoleon resolved to follow up his overtures for peace by pressing the war with the greatest vigor.

On the 1st of April, Massena advanced on Freisach, attacked the enemy's rear-guard, took the large stores which they had collected, and drove them almost to Neumarck, where the archduke, with four

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battalions from the Rhine and the remains of his own army, was in position to defend the gorges. Napoleon immediately advanced his whole force; ordered Massena to form the left wing; placed Guyeux's division on the heights on the right, and Serrurier's in reserve. At three in the afternoon the attack began: the second light-infantry of Massena's division, who were from the Rhine, gave a challenge to the soldiers of the army of Italy, to advance as rapidly and penetrate as far as they did; and in heroic emulation, the rival corps rushed on in resistless energy. The archduke exhibited the utmost personal valor, but in vain; he was driven from his positions and pursued into Neumarck with the loss of three thousand men, six pieces of cannon, and five standards. He retired along the Muer, making as much delay as possible, through Scheifling, the defiles of Unzmarkt, where a furious engagement took place on the 3d, and Knittelfeld, to Leoben, where the French van arrived on the 7th. Lieutenant-General Bellegarde and Major-General Merfield here presented themselves with a flag of truce, from the emperor, proposing a suspension of arms. On the same evening an armistice for five days was signed, which was afterward prolonged till the 20th: and negotiations for a treaty were opened at Judembourg. On the 18th, General Clarke, the French plenipotentiary, not having arrived, Napoleon himself took the responsibility of signing the treaty: it provided, among other things, for the extension of the French frontier to the Rhine, and to the summit of the Piedmontese Alps, the limitation of the Austrian possessions in Italy to the Oglio, whereby the emperor received the continental states of Venice, which, as a compensation, obtained Ferrara,

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Bologna, and Romagna; the establishment of the Cisalpine republic, composed of Lombardy, Modena, Cremona, and Bergamo. This treaty sealed the doom of Venice. Her course had previously been vacillating: democratic insurrections had broken out, and the senate at length placed themselves in such an attitude that, on the 3d of May, 1797, Napoleon declared war against that republic. This gave such impetus to the revolutionary spirit, that, on the 12th of May, the senate abdicated their authority, and the French troops soon after took possession of the city. By a treaty signed the 16th of May, the aristocracy was abolished and a popular government guarantied, a contribution of six millions exacted, with the surrender of many works of art, among which were the celebrated bronze horses brought from Corinth to Rome, thence removed to Constantinople, and thence carried away by the Venetian fleets.

During the months of May and June, headquarters were at the castle of Montebello, a few leagues from Milan; and here Napoleon, surrounded by the plenipotentiaries of numerous kings, and attended by Josephine, held a more than regal court: and negotiations for a general peace went on. Toward the close of September the conferences were at Udine and Passeriano, near the Tagliamento, between Count Cobentzel on the part of Austria, and Napoleon. On the 16th of October, at a conference held at Udine, Napoleon, worn out by the delay and bad faith of the emperor, repeated for the last time his ultimatum, to which Count Cobentzel declined acceding. The former, with great coolness, arose and took from a mantelpiece a little porcelain vase, which Co bentzel prized as a present from the empress Cathe-

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rine: "Well," said Napoleon, "the truce, then, is at an end, and war is declared; but remember that before the end of autumn I will shatter your monarchy as I shatter this porcelain." Saying this he dashed it furiously down upon the carpet in fragments, and retired. Cobentzel was struck dumb; and learning in a few moments that as Napoleon got into his carriage he had despatched an officer to announce to the archduke the recommencement of hostilities in twenty-four hours, he sent to Passeriano, whither Napoleon had withdrawn, a signed declaration that he consented to the ultimatum of France. On the following day, the 17th of October, 1797, the treaty of Campo Formio was signed. Campo Formio is a small village between Passeriano and Udine, which had been neutralized for the conferences; and the treaty was dated there, though not actually signed there. By this treaty, the Rhine and the Alps were acknowledged as the boundaries of France, the Cisalpine republic was established, and Austria obtained Istria, Dalmatia, Venice and its continental possessions as far as Lake Garda, the Adige, and the Po. Napoleon set out for Turin, where he arrived on the 17th of November. He thence continued his journey by Rastadt, Mont Cenis, and Grenoble, to Paris, where he alighted at his own small house in the *Chaussée d'Antin, rue Chantereine.*

Shortly after his arrival, however, he had a public reception from the directory in the Luxembourg. Napoleon, introduced by Talleyrand, presented the treaty of Campo Formio, and Joubert and Andreossy, on the part of the legislative body, presented a magnificent standard to the army of Italy. Upon it was recorded, in letters of gold, that "the army of Italy took one

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hundred and fifty thousand prisoners, one hundred and seventy standards, five hundred and fifty pieces of garrison artillery, six hundred field-pieces, five ponton trains, nine sixty-four-gun ships, twelve frigates of thirty two guns, twelve corvettes, eighteen galleys:" it then recited the splendid political and diplomatic results of its operations, and proceeded to relate that "this army has triumphed in eighteen pitched battles and in sixty-seven actions: 1, Montenotte; 2, Millesimo; 3, Mondovi; 4, Lodi; 5, Borghetto; 6, Lonato; 7, Castiglione; 8, Roveredo; 9, Bassano; 10, Saint-Georges; 11, Fontana Viva; 12, Caldiero; 13, Arcole; 14, Rivoli; 15, La Favorite; 16, the Tagliamento; 17, Tarwis; 18, Neumarck:" and then followed the names of sixty-seven lesser engagements.

His arrival excited unbounded enthusiasm, and he took care to foment the public curiosity by a retired and distant style of behavior. The public, he observes in his memoirs, was extremely eager to see him; the streets and squares through which he was expected to pass were constantly crowded with people, but Napoleon never showed himself. He received no constant visits except from a few men of science, such as Monge, Berthollet, Borda, Laplace, and Lagrange; several generals, as Berthier, Desaix, Lefebvre, Caffarelli, and Kleber; and a very few deputies. The Institute having appointed him a member of the class of mechanics, he adopted its costume. People thronged to the Institute for the sake of seeing him; he always took his place there between Laplace and Lagrange. "Mankind," said Napoleon in after years, "are in the end governed invariably by superior intellect, and no profession is more aware of this than the military.

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When, on my return from Italy, I assumed the dress of the Institute, I knew what I was doing: I was sure of being understood by the humblest drummer in the army." He never went to the theatre except to occupy a private box, and though when his presence in the house was known, he was always called for with loud plaudits, he never showed himself. "The people of Paris," said he at this time to Bourrienne, "do not remember anything. Were I to remain here long doing nothing, I should be lost. In this great Babylon, one reputation displaces another. Let me be seen but three times at the theatre, and I shall no longer excite attention."

In the political position of affairs at Paris, Napoleon saw nothing satisfactory, and after a few unsuccessful attempts to control matters according to his will, he turned his thoughts toward the more welcome scene of military glory. England and the East divided for some time the attention of the government and of himself. He had long looked toward Egypt with kindled ambition, as the field where a great blow might be struck at the power of England, and where a great empire might be founded. The directory wished him to undertake the invasion of Great Britain, and appointed him commander-in-chief of the army of England. On the 10th of February, 1798, in company with Sulkowsky, Lannes, and Bourrienne, he set out to examine the preparations along the coast, and visited Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, Antwerp, &c.; but found that it was impracticable to think of the English expedition at that time. "It is too great a hazard," said he: "I will not risk it: I would not thus sport with the fate of France." Every thought was then turned toward Egypt.

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With regard to the responsibility of this great undertaking, it would appear that it was first suggested to the directory by Napoleon, and then urged by them when they had become jealous of his presence. In the dictations to Las Cases, at St. Helena, the first principle which was announced as the summary of the truth upon this subject was, that "the expedition to Egypt was undertaken at the earnest and mutual desire of the directory and the general-in-chief." The directory placed everything at the orders of Napoleon; the utmost activity prevailed throughout the south of France; from his headquarters at Paris, Napoleon directed everything; and in an incredibly short time, the armament was ready to sail.

EXPEDITION TO EGYPT.

On the 19th of May, 1798, the squadron sailed from Toulon for Malta, touching at Genoa, Ajaccio, and Civita Vecchia, to effect a junction with parts of the fleet which had been fitted out in those harbors. In leaving the harbor of Toulon, the L'Orient of one hundred and twenty guns grounded, on account of her immense size; an incident which the sailors regarded as prophetic of the fate that afterward befell her. The expedition consisted, in all, of thirteen ships-of-the-line, fourteen frigates, and a large number of brigs, cutters, and transports; and carried forty thousand soldiers from the army of Italy, commanded by Berthier, Murat, Lannes, Junot, Vaubois, Regnier, Belliard, Dammartin, and Baraguay d'Hilliers, who had all served under Napoleon in Italy, and by Kleber and Desaix, who were not less distinguished for their ser-

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vices in Germany; and attended by a corps of the most illustrious philosophers and artists of France — Berthollet, Monge, Fourier, Larrey, Denon, and Geoffroy St. Hilaire. After doubling capes Corso and Bonara, where Napoleon became apprized of the presence of an English fleet in the Mediterranean, they reached Malta on the 10th of June, the surrender of which had been fully prepared by intrigues begun long before, and founded on the disaffection of the French and Italian knights for the grand-master Hompesch, a German. The officers admired the colossal vastness of a fortress which had once been the bulwark of Europe: and Caffarelli-Dufalga, the chief of the engineer corps, said, on reconnoitring the works, "It is well that we have found some one within to open the gates for us." Having put it in a complete state of defence, and left Vaubois with three thousand men to garrison it, Napoleon, on the 19th of June, sailed with the fleet for Egypt. To avoid the English squadron, which by this time was likely to have become acquainted with the destination of the French force, Napoleon gave orders that, instead of steering directly for Alexandria, the fleet should manœuvre so as to make Cape Aza, in Africa, twenty-five leagues from Alexandria. Nelson crossed their track in the night, without either being aware of the vicinity of the other. Napoleon's anxiety was to land his army, and to place the fleet in some safe harbor; after which he would have cared but little for the English squadron. While the French fleet was reconnoitring the coast of Candia, the signal was made that a ship-of-war was seen in the offing. "Fortune," exclaimed Napoleon, "wilt thou forsake me? only give me five days." It proved to be the French ship La

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Justice, which had been cruising off Naples. On the morning of the 1st of July the coast of Egypt became visible, and on reaching Alexandria it was ascertained that Nelson had been there two days before, and not finding the French, had sailed north in search of them. Napoleon landed during the day, and as soon as three thousand men were on the shore, he marched for Alexandria during the night, and reached and attacked it at daybreak. The grenadiers scaled the walls, led by the gallant officers who felt how much depended upon this first success. Kleber was wounded in the head by a ball, and General Menou precipitated from the top of the rampart; but a gate in the rear of the city having been left open by negligence, the French soldiers rushed in, and soon made themselves masters of the city.

As soon as the whole army had landed, Napoleon issued the following address to them: "Soldiers! you are entering upon a conquest which will be attended with the greatest results for the trade and civilization of the world. You will inflict on England the heaviest stroke that she can feel before she receives her death-blow. Those among whom you are going are Mohammedans. The great article of their belief is, 'There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet.' Do not contradict them. Treat them as you treated the Italians and the Jews: pay the same respect to the muftis and imaums of the one as you did to the rabbis and bishops of the other: show the same deference for their mosques and their ceremonies that you did for the convents and the synagogues, for the religion of Moses and that of Jesus. The first city that we shall enter was built by Alexander: at every step we shall meet

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with recollections worthy of the enthusiasm of Frenchmen." Egypt at this time was occupied by four races of men: the lowest consisted of the Copts, the native occupants, Christians, and amounting, in number, to about one hundred and fifty thousand; the most numerous class were the Arab conquerors of Egypt, Mohammedans, governed by their sheiks, and amounting to about two millions; the next class was composed of Ottomans, who established themselves in the country upon the Turkish conquest by Selim in the sixteenth century, and formed the corps of janizaries and spahis, in number about two hundred thousand: the highest order, who were the military governors of the country, were the Mamelukes, of Circassian origin, amounting in all to between sixty and seventy thousand, commanded by twenty-three beys, and forming a cavalry of twelve thousand of the finest horsemen in the world. The supreme magistracy was vested in Ibrahim Bey and Murad Bey, the latter of whom was the head of the military force. Napoleon's policy proceeded upon dividing these classes or races, and employing the jealousies of one to control another. He announced that he made war only against the Mamelukes, and that the purpose of his coming was to deliver the Mohammedans from their oppressors, and he conciliated the sheiks and governed the country through them; at the same time, he made use of the Copts as spies upon them. Before advancing into the country, he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, declaring his friendship for the religion and institutions of Mohammed, and announcing that his hostility was directed against the Mamelukes only, the oppressors of the Mussulmans.

Having ordered the fortifications of Alexandria to be

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restored and completed under Colonel Cretin, the most skilful officer of engineers in France, and having left three thousand men under Kleber in the garrison, he sent a division under Dugua to pass round by Rosetta, and with the rest of the army he set out, on the 8th of July, to reach the Nile across the desert of Damanhour. During this march, the suffering from heat, fatigue, and want of water, was extreme, and the officers and soldiers alike abandoned themselves to the most unrestrained dissatisfaction. Napoleon observed, afterward, that he had made a mistake in leading the army of Italy upon such an enterprise: that army, he said, had fulfilled its career; the persons belonging to it were sated with wealth and honors, and were not fit for the desert. Bertrand related that he had seen the most distinguished generals, such as Lannes and Murat, throw their laced hats on the ground and trample upon them. Nothing but the commanding character of their leader kept them in any subordination; and he himself, at a later period, saw two dragoons run out of the ranks and throw themselves into the Nile.

On the 10th the army reached Rahmanieh, on the Nile, and was joined by General Dugua's division, which had marched by Rosetta. Before Desaix's division could form on the bank, it was attacked by a corps of about eight hundred Mamelukes, who being received with a brisk fire of artillery, were compelled to retire with some loss. Information was also received that Murad Bey was waiting for the French at the village of Shebreis, with a large body of cavalry, and a flotilla of eight or ten gun-boats, and several batteries on the Nile. On the evening of the 12th, Napoleon marched to meet them, and on the morning of the

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13th, at daybreak, came in sight of them at Shebreis. The Mameluke force consisted chiefly of a magnificent body of cavalry, while the French had but two hundred horse, all fatigued, and some disabled, by the march. As the enemy, from the nature of his force, was able to direct his attack upon any quarter that he chose, each division of the French army was formed into a hollow square, with the baggage in the centre, and the five divisions were arranged *en echelon*, and beside each other, with the artillery at the angles, so as to play in front of, and between, the divisions; the whole resting, on both sides, upon two villages which the French occupied. The cavalry of the Mamelukes soon inundated the whole plain, outflanked all the wings, and sought, on each front, on the flanks and in the rear, to find a weak point where they might break the French line; but the line was everywhere equally formidable, and on every side they encountered a double fire from front and flank. Some of the bravest came and skirmished, but were received by the fire of companies of carbiniers placed in advance of the intervals between the battalions. The main body made several attempts to charge, but could not bring their resolution to the point. In the afternoon they withdrew and disappeared, having lost about three hundred killed and wounded. During this time, also, the French flotilla on the Nile had gained considerable advantage over that of the enemy, and compelled it to retire up the river. The French army continued its march for eight days, suffering for want of supplies, and in one of the most scorching climates in the world; and on the 20th of July, in the morning, the summits of the pyramids became visible, bordering the horizon of the

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valley on the left bank of the Nile. On the evening of the same day, they arrived within six leagues of Cairo, and learned that the whole force of the Mamelukes, with a considerable number of Arabs and janizaries, were in line at Embabeh, between the Nile and the pyramids, and in front of Gizeh. About dawn, on the 21st, the Mameluke vanguard of one thousand horse showed itself, but soon retired; and about ten o'clock in the morning, the French came in sight of the Egyptian army at Embabeh. Their right, consisting of twenty thousand infantry, janizaries, and spahis, and all the fighting men of Cairo, was supported on the Nile, and occupied a large intrenched camp, lined with forty pieces of cannon: the centre consisted of the entire body of the Mameluke cavalry, amounting to twelve thousand, under their twenty-three beys, Murad Bey commanding in person, with their right on the camp, and stretching thence toward the pyramids, across the road to Gizeh: the left wing, composed of two or three thousand Arabs, filled up the interval between the cavalry and the pyramids. The French divisions were immediately thrown into hollow squares, as at Shebreis, and drawn up in front of the enemy's line. General Bon, with his division resting on the Nile, and General Menou's division, commanded by General Vial, formed the left: General Dugua's division, with which Napoleon was, occupied the centre: Generals Regnier and Desaix constituted the right wing, the latter's division resting on a large village. "*From the tops of yonder pyramids*," said Napoleon to the soldiers, "*forty centuries are looking upon you.*" The entrenched camp was reconnoitred, and it was ascertained that it was merely sketched out, hav-

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ing been begun only three days after the battle of Shebreis, and, though likely to withstand a charge of cavalry, was incapable of resisting infantry. It was also perceived with good telescopes, that their cannon were not on field-carriages, but were merely great iron guns taken from the flotilla and served by their crews. It at once became evident that neither the artillery nor infantry would quit their entrenchments, and Napoleon's dispositions were made accordingly. Leaving the left wing, composed of the division of Bon and Menou, to act against the entrenched camp, he directed the three other divisions, who were opposed to the Mamelukes, to march by their right out of the range of the guns of the camp. Murad Bey, with the sagacity of a great commander, instantly comprehended that the proper moment for the efficient action of his cavalry was while this lateral movement was executing, and before the squares were formed in their new positions; and accordingly launched a column of seven thousand of his cavalry upon Desaix's column, which was advancing upon the extremity of the French right. Mounted upon the finest horses of Asia, superbly caparisoned — themselves armed with sabres, and having pistols and poniards in their belts, and girt with shawls and turbans that glittered in all the splendor of eastern dyes — these dauntless Circassians, whose stature and features and spirit have been deemed so heroic that they are conjectured to be descendants of those Greeks whom Jason led to the shores of Colchis — rushed forth with fierce cries, and a rapidity like lightning, upon the disordered column of Desaix. The moment was of intense suspense. It was undoubtedly a false manœuvre which Napoleon had directed, in changing the front

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in presence of the enemy's line, and it was from just such an error that himself and Wellington, in later years, seized such conclusive victories at Austerlitz and Salamanca. Before, however, the whole weight of the column of Mamelukes was thrown upon the French, the squares were formed; and the men with perfect coolness received the charging squadron upon the bayonet and with a shower of balls. Thirty of the bravest were killed near General Desaix; the mass, by an instinct natural to the horse, turned round the squares, and rode between the divisions of Desaix and Regnier, where they were received with a double fire which completed their overthrow. Napoleon, who was in Dugua's square, in the centre of the army, immediately marched on the main body of the Mamelukes, and placed himself between Regnier and the Nile. At the same time, the divisions of Bon and Vial, on the left, were directed to assault the camp. The method of manœuvring with the squares was this: The squares were six deep: on marching with the whole division, the men all faced forward; when an attack was made upon them, they halted, fronted on every side, and received the assailants with bayonets and a discharge of bullets: when they made a charge, the first and third divisions of the square advanced and formed into column, while the second and fourth immediately formed into a square, now only three deep, and were prepared to act as a reserve or support. Bon's columns of attack, led by General Rampon, rushed upon the entrenchments, in spite of a heavy fire, when the Mamelukes in reserve issued forth at full gallop and charged upon them. The French threw themselves into square, maintained their positions, and soon strewed the ground with

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the slain. The works were carried; and the Mamelukes retired on every side. Murad, with twenty-five hundred horse, fled through Gizeh; the rest returned to the camp, where their retreat was cut off by two battalions under Rampon, which were stationed on the road between Gizeh and the camp. With the exception of the force which retired with Murad Bey, the destruction of the army was entire. Five thousand Mamelukes were driven into the river and drowned; while the French loss did not exceed twenty or thirty killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded. At nine o'clock in the evening, Napoleon reached the country-house of Murad Bey, at Gizeh, and at four o'clock on the afternoon of the 26th of July, he entered the city of Cairo, where all the luxuries of the East surrounded the army. The fame of the battle of the pyramids, and the terror of the French artillery, spread far and wide, and Napoleon received the name of Sultan Kebir, or the sultan of fire. It rendered his command over Egypt supreme and absolute. Ibrahim Bey, who had been a spectator of the engagement, from the opposite bank of the Nile, retreated immediately to Salahieh; Napoleon, with Dugua's and Regnier's divisions, pursued him thither, and after a sharp engagement, in which the French cavalry were proved to be entirely inferior to the Mameluke horsemen, and were only saved by the infantry, Ibrahim was compelled to retire across the desert into Syria.

In the midst of this perfect success on land, and when the object of the expedition seemed likely to be secured, every hope of Napoleon in the East was crushed for ever by the naval battle of Aboukir, or the battle of the Nile, as it is called by the English. It

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does not fall within the scope of the present work to enter upon a particular description of that splendid monument of the glory of Nelson and of England. Napoleon had given orders to Admiral Brueys, immediately after landing the army, either to go into harbor at Alexandria, or to sail for Corfu: these directions were not appreciated, and on the 1st of August, 1798, the English squadron, under Nelson, bore down between the French fleet and the shore, off the fort of Aboukir, and surrounding them on both sides, destroyed or captured every vessel, but two which made their escape. This defeat was felt at once by Napoleon to be the disenchantment of all his oriental visions. It precipitated the combined fleets of Russia and Turkey in hostility upon France: and he could thenceforth propose to himself no higher object of desire than to preserve his army, and to regain his country with tolerable credit.

The activity and energy of Napoleon were, however, not paralyzed by this blow. He continued without relaxation his exertions, not only for the military mastery of the country, but for the establishment of his power in the domestic institutions and private affections of the people. He asserted his Mussulman orthodoxy: he illustrated his justice: he displayed his paternal care. One day, while seated in the divan of the grand-sheiks, he was told that the Arabs of the tribe of Osnadis had killed a fellah and carried off some flocks: with an air of indignation, he instantly ordered a staff-officer to march with three hundred horsemen and two hundred dromedaries into the Bahireh, to punish the guilty parties, and obtain reparation. The sheik Elmodi said to him, with a laugh, "Was this fellah thy cousin, that his death excites so much

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anger in thee?"—"He was more," replied Napoleon; "all whom I command are my children."—"Good!" said the sheik, "that is spoken like the prophet himself."

Desaix, who, with his division, had been sent into Upper Egypt in pursuit of the remains of the Mameluke corps, came up with them at the village of Sidiman in the month of October; and after a bloody engagement between his force, of about twenty-five hundred men, and the enemy, consisting of four thousand Mamelukes and Arabs, gained a complete victory, which opened Upper Egypt and all its wonders to the curiosity of the French. In the latter part of the same month, a dreadful insurrection broke out in Cairo, fomented by the Turkish influence, which had gained confidence from the declaration of war against France by the Porte, after the battle of the Nile: and the most rigorous measures were put in practice in suppressing this revolt, and the spirit in which it had its origin. Napoleon shortly afterward issued the following curious proclamation: "Sheiks, ulemas, teachers of the mosques, tell the people that they who combine to resist me have no hope in this world or in the next. Is any man so blind, as not to see that I am the Man of Destiny? Make the people comprehend, that from the beginning of time it has been preordained that, having vanquished the cross and subdued all the enemies of Islam, I should come from the West to fulfil my destined work. Make them see that twenty passages in the Koran predict my coming. I might demand an account from every one of you of his most hidden thoughts, since everything is known to me; but the day is coming in which all shall know from whom I

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have derived my mission, and that the efforts of man are vain against me." Shortly after he made an excursion to the Red sea, and, taking advantage of the tide being out, crossed with a party to the opposite shore. He here received a deputation from the Cenobites of Mount Sinai, who came to implore his protection, and to request him to write his name on the ancient register of their charters: Napoleon, accordingly, inscribed his name on the same list with those of Ali, Saladin, and Ibrahim. It was after dark when the party returned, and when they were half way across the channel, the tide coming rapidly in, they lost their way, and seemed to be on the point of meeting the fate which, on the same spot, three thousand years before, had overwhelmed Pharaoh and his host. With much presence of mind, Napoleon halted the party, and ordered persons to advance in all directions, and to give the alarm when the water grew deeper. The direction of the shore was thus discovered, and the company reached it in safety. "Had I been drowned," said Napoleon, afterward, "I should have furnished a magnificent text to all the preachers of Christendom!"

The success of the English fleet upon the sea, as has been stated, determined the hostility of the Porte. The sultan having declared war against France, was preparing two expeditions—one by sea, to land at Aboukir, and the other by land, to approach from Syria. Napoleon resolved to take the initiative, by attacking the latter force before it was fully prepared; and accordingly, on the 11th of February, he advanced at the head of an army of thirteen thousand men, nine hundred cavalry, and forty-nine pieces of cannon, to cross the desert for Syria, leaving a reserve of about

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sixteen thousand on the Nile. Napoleon seems, also, to have indulged in some magnificent dreams of oriental conquest and glory: he contemplated the expulsion of the English from India, and opened a correspondence with Tippoo-Saib on the subject: he spoke, also, of combining an immense army of Asiatics, and reappearing in Europe, through Turkey, at the head of an irresistible host. These may have been genuine expectations of a mind so imaginative and ardent as Napoleon's was; but good sense and sound judgment were such essential characteristics of the sincere opinions of this sagacious man, that there is reason to suspect that he sought to veil in these splendid promises of conquest the discredit of a real failure. On the 18th, his army reached the foot of El-Arisch, where a large body of Mameluke cavalry was surprised during the night, and the fort surrendered after a siege of two days. The army then advanced into Syria, and after a successful action at Gaza, invested Jaffa, carried
1799. it by storm on the 6th of March, and put the garrison of four thousand to the sword. Leaving this place in the occupation of a French garrison, Napoleon advanced to Acre, which he reached on the 16th. On the 20th, trenches were opened, and the siege pressed with the utmost vigor. Sir Sydney Smith, then commanding the English squadron in the Archipelago, had received notice from Djezzer Pasha, that Acre was to be attacked, and arrived in the harbor with two large vessels-of-war and several smaller ones, only two days before the French army appeared before its walls. Philippeaux, a French emigrant colonel of engineers, who had been a school companion of Napoleon's at Brienne, and who had passed at the same examination

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with him in Paris, in 1785, took command of the fortifications, and everything that science and valor could supply was exerted to defend a post upon which the safety of the East depended. Sir Sydney succeeded in capturing the frigates which Napoleon had despatched from Alexandria with the artillery intended for the siege; and the twenty-four guns which had been designed to act against the walls, were now mounted upon them, and used for the destruction of the army to which they had before belonged. A large body of seamen and marines were to land under command of Sir Sydney, and to co-operate in the defence. From the 20th of March until the 20th of May, this desperate struggle was maintained, with every exhibition of courage and daring upon the part of both besiegers and besieged. "The fate of the East," said Napoleon, "is in yonder fort." But every attempt of the engineers against the works was thwarted by the activity of Philippeaux; every assault was repulsed with dreadful slaughter; and at the end of two months, having lost three thousand of his best troops, Napoleon had the cannon buried in the sand, and ordered a retreat to Jaffa. In this siege, Caffarelli, the chief of the engineer corps, Mailly, a staff officer, Debon, and Laugier, were killed; and Lannes and Devaux wounded. "That man made me miss my destiny," said Napoleon of Sir Sydney Smith.

The siege of fortified places not only requires methods and arts wholly different from those which are made use of in the field, but involves principles of judgment essentially distinct from those that are implied in the command of armies. The failure of Wellington against Burgos, and of Napoleon against Acre, infer nothing unfavorable to the supremacy of these great command-

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ers in their own profession: they merely illustrate the boundaries of that profession. At the very moment, while Acre was defying the wrath of the French commander-in-chief, he was exhibiting at Mount Thabor, in all the perfection of its lustre, that splendor of genius in the combinations of forces in the field which had ever surrounded his name. It was about the middle of April that the accumulation of the enemy upon his rear became so serious, that Napoleon determined to strike a memorable blow against a force which threatened soon to overwhelm him by its growing numbers. Junot was in command at Nazareth, and the enemy in immense numbers had approached within the bridge of Jacob: Kleber was sent from Acre, with his division, to join Junot; Murat, with two squadrons of horse and one thousand infantry, was stationed at the bridge of Jacob; and Napoleon, on the 16th, advanced in person from Acre with Bon's division, the cavalry, and eight pieces of cannon. Kleber, marching out from Nazareth to attack the enemy's camp, encountered their host, consisting of thirty thousand, of whom half were cavalry, at the village of Fouli. Throwing his division into squares, with the artillery in front of the intervals, Kleber received the terrible shock undaunted: the steady roll of his guns strewed the lines of cavalry and infantry in heaps upon the ground as they advanced. For six hours the unequal contest was maintained, when the roar of a twelve-pounder from the heights announced that Napoleon, with fresh troops from Acre, had arrived. Napoleon immediately ordered Bon's division, in two squares, to attack in flank the throng who were pressing on Kleber's corps, while he advanced with the cannon to attack them in front; and the cav-

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alry, under Letourcq, were sent with some light artillery against the Mamelukes at the foot of the mountains. While the troops brought up by Napoleon thus charged the enemy on two sides, Kleber extended his line and charged with the bayonet on the other: the undisciplined mass soon retired in confusion and fled along the Jordan, and finding the bridge of Jacob in possession of Murat, they plunged into the river, and many of them were drowned. This battle utterly destroyed the organization of the enemy, who made no further attempt to molest the French. Napoleon returned to Acre, and resumed the siege.

In two days after the siege was raised, the army reached Jaffa. The terrors of heat and thirst were fearfully augmented by the plague, which had before this time appeared in the army. Napoleon visited the hospital at Jaffa, and encouraged all who were able, to rise and occupy the litters which were prepared for them: a small number were in a dying state, and as it was certain that they would be murdered by the Turks, who were close at hand, it was suggested that opium should be given to them to terminate their miseries. The answer made by the chief of the medical staff, when Napoleon consulted him on the subject, is deserving of immortal record: "My profession," said he, "is to prolong life, not to destroy it." Whether these unfortunate men were relieved thus from their sufferings, is uncertain; but it might justly be considered an impulse of humanity, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Turks, by whom their cruel destruction was inevitable. The army, on the 1st of June, reached El-Arisch, after much suffering by drought and privation: Napoleon abandoned his horse, and marched on

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foot at the head of his troops, inspiring all by his endurance and self-denial. On the 14th of June, the army entered Cairo.

Meanwhile, during Napoleon's absence, an insurrection had been raised by a chief in the Delta, who pretended to be the angel El-Mody, and who was not subdued until two divisions had been sent against him. In Upper Egypt, Desaix, pursuing his career of success, had defeated the Mamelukes and Arabs successively at Thebes and Souhama; and Davoust had finally destroyed the Arabs by the defeat of a large body of them at Benyhady, where more than two thousand were slain. Upper Egypt was thus finally conquered and pacificated; and Desaix's civil administration gave so much satisfaction, that he was called by the natives, "Sultan the Just." On the 14th of July, Napoleon received intelligence that the English squadron under Sir Sydney Smith, which had been off Acre, and the Turkish fleet, which had joined it, had arrived with numerous transports in the Aboukir roads on the evening of the 12th, and that a large body of Turks was engaged in landing. He instantly despatched orders to every division of the army in Egypt, to concentrate before Aboukir. Regnier was directed to march on Rhamanieh; Desaix, to evacuate Upper Egypt and descend toward Cairo at once; and Kleber, to advance from Damietta; while Napoleon, with the divisions of Murat, Lannes, and Bon, set out in person for Alexandria, where he was joined by the garrison under Marmont, governor of that city. The enemy had landed on the peninsula of Aboukir, taken the village, redoubt, and fort of that name, and entrenched themselves in two lines, one extending from the redoubt

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to the sea, the other, two miles in advance, supported at either extremity by sand-mounts, one of which commanded Lake Maadieh, and the other extended to the Mediterranean. These mounts were strongly occupied by artillery, and that line was guarded by eight thousand janizaries; the second line was defended by five thousand with twelve pieces of cannon, and supported by the village, redoubt, and fort. Napoleon, upon reconnoitring these dispositions on the 25th, resolved to attack his adversaries with the force which he had upon the spot, though not more than eight thousand had yet come up. His hope was, if not to gain the whole peninsula, to oblige at least the first line of the enemy to fall back upon the second, whereby the French might entrench themselves in the first line, and thence overwhelm the Turkish army with shells, balls, and other artillery resources, of which there was an immense store in Alexandria. Lannes, with eighteen hundred men, was ordered to attack the left, and D'Estaing, with the like number, the right; while Murat, with all the cavalry and a light battery, dividing his force into three corps, the left, the right, and the reserve, prepared to pierce the enemy's centre. The Turks resisted the attack of Lannes and D'Estaing with considerable success, until Murat, having penetrated the centre, directed his left to the rear of their right, and his right to the rear of their left, and thus cut off their communication with the second line. The Turks at once lost all confidence and order, and rushed tumultuously toward their second line: but in front they encountered the cavalry; in their rear, the columns of Lannes and D'Estaing, having carried the deserted heights, descended in charging time, and the artillery

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poured a deadly fire of grape-shot among them. To escape these terrors, nearly the whole body, amounting to eight thousand, threw themselves into the sea and the lake, on the right hand and on the left, and were drowned. It is said that not more than twenty succeeded in reaching the vessels. This extraordinary success with so little loss, gave hopes of carrying the second line; and Napoleon went forward with Colonel Cretin to reconnoitre it.

As the left, which rested on the lake, was the weakest part of that line, Lannes was ordered, under cover of his whole artillery, to turn the entrenchments on that side, and throw himself into the village behind; and Murat with all the cavalry, under the guidance of Colonel Cretin, who was well acquainted with the localities, was directed to place himself in close column in the rear of Lannes, and to repeat the same manœuvre as before, and get into the rear of the redoubt on the enemy's left; while D'Estaing distracted the enemy's attention by a false attack upon their right. Lannes accordingly forced the entrenchments at the point of their junction with the lake, and got possession of some houses in the village, while on the right the skirmishers engaged along the whole line. At this moment, Mustapha Pacha, who was in the redoubt, made a sortie with four or five thousand men, and placed himself between the French right and left, taking the latter in flank and the former in rear. This movement stopped Lannes's progress, until Napoleon, who was in the centre, marched forward with the reserve, checked Mustapha's attack, made him give ground, and thereby reestablished confidence in Lannes's corps, which now continued its movement. The cavalry then pressing

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in, got into the rear of the redoubt, and D'Estaing advanced at the charge against the entrenchments on the right: the Turks, alarmed as before by the horsemen in their rear, fled in disorder toward the fort, but were intercepted by the cavalry. Three or four thousand were driven into the sea; Mustapha, after a valiant defence, during which he was wounded in the hand, was surrounded together with his staff and twelve hundred men, and all were made prisoners: the residue of the Turkish force, amounting to three or four thousand, occupied the fort and a part of the village, in which they had barricaded themselves. Sir Sydney Smith, who had acted as major-general to Mustapha, narrowly escaped being taken, and had much difficulty in reaching his sloop. The French loss, however, was considerable. Cretin, Duvivier, and Guibert, one of Napoleon's aides-de-camp, were killed, together with three hundred men; and Murat was wounded by a shot in the head. The fort and village, after a heavy cannonade, surrendered in a few days: and thus, of this whole formidable force, scarcely a handful escaped.

Napoleon, upon his return to Alexandria, received a flag from Sir Sydney Smith proposing an exchange of prisoners, and bringing some files of English newspapers, from which he first learned the reverses which the French armies had met with in Europe — the retreat to Zurich and the disasters in Italy, together with the capture of Corfu, and the blockade of Malta. It was ten months since he had received any intelligence from France. As he glanced over the journals, he exclaimed, "Heavens! my presentiment is verified: the fools have lost Italy: all the fruits of our victories are gone! I must leave Egypt!" He instantly resolved to encoun-

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ter every risk upon the sea, and to set out alone for France. The utmost secresy was preserved as to his intentions: two frigates, the Muiron and the Carrere, were prepared for the voyage; and leaving Kleber in command, with a letter of minute instructions for his guidance, Napoleon, accompanied by Lannes, Murat, Marmont, Berthier, Andreossy, Monge, Berthollet, Bourrienne, and a few guides, embarked from Alexandria on the 22d of August. To allow an opportunity of running on shore, if the English fleet should surprise them, Napoleon directed the frigates to sail close along the coast of Africa, which they did until they had passed the site of Carthage; thence they sailed to the western coast of Sardinia, and were obliged by contrary winds to enter Ajaccio, where they remained eight days, and finally, after running the utmost risk of capture from the English fleet, they anchored in the bay of Frejus on the 9th of October, 1799.

THE EIGHTEENTH OF BRUMAIRE.

When an administration, manifesting nothing but weakness and versatility, going on from day to day without any system, and yielding to the influence of every party by turns, has shown its utter inefficiency, and has lost all power and all respect, so that the most moderate citizens are obliged to confess that the country is without a government, a vague uneasiness spreads throughout the community; and society, disturbed by the instinct of self-preservation, looks into its own resources and seeks for some one to save it from collapse. Such a tutelary genius a great nation always possesses in its own bosom; but to make his presence effective, he

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must be known to others, and he must be known to himself. The apathy of the multitude is the safety of the nominal government; and however weak and worthless it may be, the efforts of its opponents will not prevail till there appears something or somebody competent to take its place. But let this deliverer, so passionately desired, suddenly give proof of his existence, and the nation instinctively acknowledges and calls for him: all difficulties vanish from before him, and the people, gathering about him, seem to exclaim with one voice, "This is the man!"

Such are the reflections which Napoleon himself has made in relation to the state of feeling in France when, with the frigates La Muiron and La Carrere, he anchored in the gulf of Frejus, at daybreak, on the 9th of October, 1799. His arrival excited the utmost enthusiasm: in a moment the sea was covered with boats, and everybody thronged about the frigates. It was a time of depression and alarm in that part of France: Italy had just been lost, the war was about to begin again on the Var, and Frejus was threatened with invasion. Napoleon appeared in the character of a great deliverer; and all classes felt an unbounded confidence in the hero of the campaigns of 1796 and 1797. The officers of quarantine took advantage of the circumstance that the vessels had touched at Ajaccio, to declare that there was no occasion for subjecting them to the usual rules. Napoleon, therefore, landed at once, and at six that evening set off with Berthier, in a coach, for Paris. Stopping six hours at Aix, to recruit from the fatigues of the voyage, he was quickly surrounded by the people of the city and villages, who came in crowds to testify their delight at seeing him. Those

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who lived too far in the country to present themselves at the roadside in time, rang the bells, raised flags upon the steeples, and at night made a general illumination. It was like the rejoicing for a sovereign restored to his people, rather than the welcoming of a citizen to his country, or the reception of a victorious general returning from battle. Avignon, Montelimart, Valence, and Vienne, were in a state of enthusiasm; and at Lyons, where Napoleon remained twelve hours, there was a perfect delirium of rapture. The imaginations of the people were struck with the contrast between the glories of Aboukir and the defeats which had been sustained in Germany and Italy. "We are numerous, we are courageous," seemed to be the feeling among the people, "yet we are conquered: we want a man to lead us; we now have found him, and our glory will once more shine forth."

Meanwhile, the news of Napoleon's return had reached Paris, and was announced at the theatre, where it caused a universal sensation of delight among the people and dismay among the demagogues, whose power it seemed to threaten. With characteristic disposition to *surprise* those whom he dealt with, he expressed to his couriers his intention to take a particular road to Paris, by which all his friends came forth to meet him; he then took a different road, and arrived at his own house, in the *rue Chantereine*, before any one knew of his being in the capital. Two hours afterward, he presented himself to the directory: he was recognised at once by the soldiers on guard, and received with shouts of gladness, and the members of the directory appeared to share in the public joy.

The government now in operation was that known

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as the constitution of the year 3, the same which Napoleon had been instrumental in establishing on the 13th of Vendemiare (October 4th, 1795); under which the legislature consisted of two councils, that of the five hundred and that of the ancients, and the executive of a directory of five persons. The directory at this time was composed of Barras, Roger Ducos, Moulins, Gohier, and Sieyes. The first was at the head of the party called Thermidorians, the remains of Danton's friends, who, on the 9th of Thermidor, occasioned the fall of Robespierre: he had been originally an officer, possessed moderate abilities, and was excessively corrupt. Ducos was a man of easy temper and contracted intelligence. Moulins, a general without having served in war, was a man of worth and of ardent patriotism: and Gohier was a distinguished lawyer, and a man of entire virtue and honor. Sieyes was far the ablest of all: his pamphlet, "*Qu'est ce que le Tiers Etat?*" had gained for him the greatest celebrity at the commencement of the revolution; and his advice had always been efficient in the progress and direction of affairs. He was not a man of business, but was a profound thinker, although too much biased by metaphysical notions. To him France was indebted for the division into departments, which did more to centralize and unite the nation than any event for two centuries previous.

Napoleon, according to his own avowal, held the government of the directory and the leaders of the councils in profound contempt; and had left Egypt for the purpose of possessing himself of the supreme authority, and restoring France to her former glory. Yet such were his habits of careful observation of men and

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things, and of possessing himself of accurate information as to his situation, before he acted, that he remained for some time without taking any step, or deciding on any course of action. To keep himself uncommitted, and to maintain the interest and respect of the people, he adopted during this period the same kind of conduct which he had followed on his first return from Italy. He went frequently to the institute; always dressed as a member of it; and showed himself in public only with that society. He never visited the theatre, except at times when he was not expected, and then went always into a private box. He received at his house only men of science and the generals of his suite. He accepted invitations to dine with each of the directors, on condition that there should be no strangers present. A grand subscription dinner was given to him by the members of the council of five hundred, in the church of St. Sulpice: he appeared dissatisfied and thoughtful, and almost as soon as he had finished his dinner, he rose, saying to Berthier and Bourrienne, "I am tired; let us be gone." The ministers, severally, desired to entertain him: he accepted the invitation of Cambaceres, the minister of justice, only, and desired that the principal lawyers might be asked. He was very cheerful at this dinner, and conversed fully about the civil and criminal codes, to the great surprise and admiration of Tronchet, Treilhard, Merlin, and Target, and gave expression to the views which afterward took effect in the code.

The citizens began to be impatient of the general's seclusion and inactivity; they could not account for his conduct. They went to the theatres and the reviews, where it was expected that he would appear,

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but he was not to be seen. The officers of the garrison of Paris, commanded by Moreau, and the adjutants of the national guards whom Napoleon himself had appointed in 1795, solicited the privilege of seeing him: he expressed his willingness to receive them, but put off the time from day to day. The eighth and ninth dragoons, who were old regiments of Italy, and Murat's company of the twenty-first chasseurs, which had contributed so much to the success of the 13th Vendemiare, were desirous of being reviewed by the general: he accepted their offer, and promised to fix a day. The people began at length to murmur: "He has now been a fortnight in Paris," said they, "and he has done nothing."

The course adopted by Napoleon, however, was dictated by a profound sagacity; and the time which seemed to be unoccupied, was in fact devoted to the most careful inquiries and observations, and to a studious consideration of the plan which it was best to pursue. All parties desired a change, and all desired to effect it through him: he listened to the proposals of all, and sought to make himself acquainted with the true state of affairs without becoming the tool or dupe of any of the factions. The first suggestion made to him was to consolidate the existing constitution, and accept a place in the directory, or take the command of the army; but this appeared at once to be out of the question. Three parties remained, who solicited his support, and offered to place him in the supreme command. The first and most powerful was the *Société du Manège*, which was the remnant of the old club of Jacobins, who now took this name from the manège or riding-house in which its meetings were held. It com-

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manded the majority of the council of five hundred, and a strong minority in the council of ancients. Bernadotte, Augereau, and Jourdan, were among its leaders: they offered him a military dictatorship and the supreme government of the republic, if he would second the principles of the *Société du Manège*. This was the most certain way of succeeding, undoubtedly, for victory was certain, and no resistance was likely to be made; but Napoleon reflected that the Jacobins, unbending and violent in all things, do not become attached to any leader, and that it would be necessary, after succeeding by their aid, to destroy them — a course not worthy of an honorable mind. Barras's friends next presented themselves; but their corruption and profligacy seemed fatal to all good government: their leader, too, was ambitious and vain; he boasted of having made the fortune of Napoleon, and was not likely to yield to his ascendency. A third party consisted of Sieyes's followers, who were strenuously opposed to the *Société du Manège*. Their leader, who commanded the vote of Roger Ducos in the directory, and governed the majority of the council of ancients, and a small minority of that of the five hundred, proposed to place Napoleon at the head of the government, overthrow the existing constitution, and establish in its place another system, of which he had the *projet* in his pocket. The persons who sustained him were men of integrity, moderation, and good political principles; they abhorred the manège, and dreaded all popular commotions: they might be employed with success in an orderly government, and would constitute the best materials for the reconstruction of institutions. Sieyes himself, also, was without political ambition, and

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would not be a dangerous rival. Napoleon, undoubtedly, was determined to advance himself, and establish his own power and greatness; but he sought, also and chiefly, the good of his country. He wished to restore a good government and a stable society to France, which had so long been torn by miserable factions. His conduct was governed by that profound and comprehensive wisdom which is not distinct from great virtue and high duty. He intended to connect himself with the national grandeur; but he wished first to identify the nation with the interests of truth, virtue, good order, and good principles. He observed all the parties, therefore, that he might associate himself with that which was most likely to conduce to the restitution of a sound, regular, and strong government.

On the 8th of Brumaire (October 30th), Napoleon dined with Barras, in company with a few other persons. After dinner some conversation on politics ensued. "The republic is falling," said Barras; "things can go on no longer; the government is without power; a change must take place; and Hedouville (naming a general of the most ordinary character) must be made president of the republic. As to you, general, you intend to rejoin the army; and as for me, ill, unpopular, and worn-out, I am fit only for private life." Napoleon looked steadily at him without replying, and Barras's eyes fell to the ground. Satisfied that it was Barras's intention to dupe and betray him, Napoleon's resolution was taken at once. He rose in a few minutes and went to call on Sieyes. He stated that for ten days all parties had addressed themselves to him; and that he was determined to act with Sieyes and the majority of the council of ancients, and had come to announce this

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resolution to him. It was then agreed that the change might be made between the 15th and 20th of Brumaire. The next day, Barras called upon Napoleon before he had risen, and assured him that he came to place himself at his disposal and to do whatever he wished; and entreated that, if Napoleon had any project in agitation, he would rely upon him. Napoleon had, however, fully made up his mind: he replied, that he had nothing in view; that he was fatigued and indisposed; that, arriving from the dry climate of the sands of Arabia, he could not accustom himself to the moisture of the atmosphere of Paris; and put an end to the interview by such trifling remarks.

On the 15th of Brumaire, Sieyes and Napoleon had an interview, at which the measures for the 18th were resolved upon. It was arranged that the council of ancients, acting upon the power vested in it by one of the articles of the constitution, should decree the removal of the legislative body to Saint-Cloud, and should appoint Napoleon commander-in-chief of the guard of the councils, of the troops of the military division of Paris, and of the national guard. This was to be done at seven o'clock in the morning of the 18th, and at eight o'clock he was to go to the Tuileries, where the troops were to assemble, and was there to assume the command of the capital.

During the 17th, Napoleon made appointments with the officers and generals who had desired to be presented to him, to wait upon him at his own house on the following morning at seven o'clock, and informed the regiment of dragoons and chasseurs who had wished to be reviewed by him, that he would meet them at the Champs-Elysées at the same time; and as the hours

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might seem unreasonable, he intimated that he was intending to set out on a journey. Each of the generals who were thus summoned supposed that the invitation was confined to himself, and that it related to ordinary business. Moreau, who commanded the citadel, and who had recently become acquainted with Napoleon, had heard that a movement was in preparation; he assured Napoleon that he would place himself at his disposal, and would serve him upon an hour's notice, though he did not wish to be admitted into any secret. Macdonald, then in Paris, made similar offers: and both were invited to come to Napoleon's house at seven o'clock, and on horseback. Augereau, Bernadotte, and the other Jacobin generals, were not invited. To Lefebvre, who commanded the military division of Paris, and was wholly devoted to the directory, Napoleon sent an aide-de-camp about midnight on the 17th, requesting him to come to him at six o'clock. Napoleon's friends were indefatigable in their efforts to win over the leading men, and in disposing everything for the accomplishment of the intended revolution. His brothers, Lucien and Joseph, were especially active; and to the former, in particular, the success of the design is in a great degree to be ascribed.

The whole plan had been so carefully arranged and prepared, that on the 18th, everything was accomplished precisely as had been appointed. At seven in the morning, the council of ancients assembled; and Lebrun and others descanted upon the serious nature of the crisis, the weakness of the government, and the imminent danger of the triumph of the Jacobins and the restoration of the reign of terror. Regnier then moved a decree, in accordance with the powers con-

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ferred by the 102d, 103d, and 104th articles of the constitution: this decree provided that the legislative body should be transferred to Saint-Cloud, and that the two councils should assemble there, in the two wings of the palace, on the next day, the 19th, at noon, and that all exercise of their functions and all discussions, elsewhere and before that time, should be prohibited; that General Bonaparte should be charged with the execution of the decree — should have authority to adopt all measures necessary for the safety of the national representation — should have the chief command of the guards of the councils, of the national guards, and of all the troops throughout the whole of the seventeenth military division, and that all citizens should aid and assist him on his first requisition — and that he should be summoned to the council-table to receive a copy of the decree and to take the oath. Regnier supported this motion by a speech, in which he described the dangers of the country, and maintained that the support of Bonaparte was the only source of safety. "The republic," said he, "is threatened by anarchists and by the foreign party: measures for the public safety must be adopted: we are certain of the support of General Bonaparte, and under the shelter of his protecting arm the councils may discuss the changes which the public interest renders necessary." A strong opposition was made, but by eight o'clock the decree was forced through. It is said to have passed by a false majority; for the members were summoned at different hours, and it had been so arranged that sixty or eighty councillors, whom Lucien and his agents had not been able to win over, should not receive their notices in time.

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Meanwhile, at a little before seven o'clock, a very large number of generals and officers had assembled at Napoleon's house. Bourrienne came into his chamber by appointment a little before that hour: "Bonaparte was as calm," he remarks, "as on the approach of a battle." The company which had assembled at the small hotel of the general was so numerous, that several persons were obliged to stand in the court-yard. At half-past eight, the state messenger, who was the bearer of the decree of the council of ancients, arrived: the folding-doors were immediately thrown open, and Napoleon came out upon the steps in front of the house and spoke to the officers. He told them that he relied upon them for the salvation of France; that important measures were in agitation, designed to rescue the country from its distressing situation; that the ancients, under the authority of the constitution, had just conferred on him the command of all the troops; and that he was that moment going to mount his horse and ride to the Tuileries, and that he hoped that every one would follow him. The announcement was received with enthusiasm: the officers all drew their swords and promised to sustain and serve him. Napoleon turned to Lefebvre, and asked whether he would follow him, or return to the directory; the latter at once declared his willingness to obey the new commander-in-chief. Napoleon instantly mounted, and placing himself at the head of the cortege of officers, and of a body of fifteen hundred horse, which he had appointed to be in the neighborhood, rode forward to the Tuileries. He issued orders at once for the various corps placed under his command, and gave directions to

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communicate the decree, and to declare that no orders were to be observed but such as emanated from him.

Attended by this brilliant escort, he presented himself at the bar of the council of the ancients. "You are the wisdom of the nation," he said; "at this crisis, it is your part to point out the measures which may save the country. I come, surrounded by all the generals, to promise you their support. I appoint General Lefebvre my lieutenant. I will faithfully fulfil the duty which you have imposed upon me. Let us not look into the past for examples of what is now going on. Nothing in history resembles the end of the eighteenth century: nothing in the eighteenth century resembles the present moment."

Soon after, all the troops, amounting to about ten thousand, were reviewed in the garden of the Tuileries by Napoleon, accompanied by Bournonville, Moreau, and Macdonald. Napoleon read the decree to the soldiers, and made them an address. "I accept the appointment," said he, "with a view of seconding the measures which the council is about to adopt, and which are entirely favorable to the people. The republic has been badly governed for two years past. You hoped that my return would put an end to the evil. You have celebrated that return in a way that imposes on me duties which I am ready to perform. You will also do your duty, and second your general with the energy, resolution, and confidence, which you have always exhibited. Liberty, victory, and peace, will restore to the French republic the rank which it has occupied in Europe, and which it could not have lost but by folly and treason." Words like these, pronounced by the voice of Napoleon — an address, which spoke of victo-

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ry, and fortune, and national glory, from the conqueror of Italy — kindled the deepest enthusiasm; and the harangue was received with tumultuous acclamations by the soldiers and the citizens. About the same time, an address from the council of ancients to the French people, explaining what had been done, and calling upon all to rally around the legislature in its new attitude, was posted up in every quarter.

Napoleon then proceeded to make his military arrangements. He gave to Lannes the command of the troops appointed to protect the legislative body, and to Murat the command of those sent to Saint-Cloud. Moreau was sent with five hundred men to guard the Luxembourg. All the troops were now under Napoleon's control, except the guard of the directory. Napoleon speedily sent an aide-de-camp to communicate the decree of the council to them, and to enjoin them to obey no orders but such as were issued by him. The commanding officer consulted his men, who answered by shouts of joy. At this moment an order arrived from the directory, contrary to that which Napoleon had sent; but the soldiers obeying only the latter, marched immediately to join him. This finally dissolved the formidable executive which for four years had been the most powerful administration in Europe. Sieyes and Roger Ducos, indeed, had given in their resignations in the morning, and had been at the Tuileries all day. Barras, Gohier, and Moulins, had been together; but as soon as the last heard that the troops had followed Napoleon, and that the directory's own guard had forsaken them, he went to the Tuileries and resigned his authority. Barras, accompanied by a guard of honor, removed to Gros-Bois, and deter-

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mined to send in his resignation on the following day The directory was therefore at an end, and Napoleon was regularly invested with the whole executive power of the republic.

In the course of the day, the council of five hundred, of which Lucien was president, assembled; and as the act of the council of ancients was strictly in accordance with the constitution, and had been received with enthusiasm by all classes of persons, there was nothing for them to do but to adjourn their sitting to the next day, the 19th, at Saint-Cloud. At seven in the evening of the 18th, Napoleon held a council at the Tuileries, at which the establishment of three provisional consuls, Sieyes, Ducos, and Napoleon, was agreed on, and it was also determined to adjourn the councils for three months. The night was passed by all parties in concerting arrangements for the next day, which promised to exhibit a stormy scene.

About noon, on the 19th, the deputies assembled at Saint-Cloud, and as the workmen were not able to have the halls in readiness before two o'clock, they remained in the garden, conversing in groups, and giving opportunity to the Jacobin emissaries, who assembled in great numbers, to bring their intrigues and their passions to bear upon the occasion. At length, the council of five hundred, under the presidency of Lucien, and the council of ancients, under that of Lemercier, convened; the former in the *orangerie* in one wing, the latter in the gallery of Mars, in the other. Apartments in the building were assigned to Napoleon and his staff, and instant intelligence of everything that took place in the chambers was brought to them. At first everything seemed to proceed unfavorably, and

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the hopes of Napoleon and his party appeared to be utterly overthrown. As soon as the five hundred were organized, Gaudin ascended the tribune: he harangued upon the dangers of the republic, proposed a vote of thanks to the ancients for the course they had taken, and moved that they should be invited to explain their views more fully, and that a committee of seven should be appointed to report upon the state of public affairs. Instantly a tremendous agitation arose; the orator was hurled to the bottom of the tribune, and the whole assembly was in a ferment of passion. Delbred demanded that the members should swear anew to the constitution of the year three: and the list of names was begun to be called over for the purpose. The unanimity of the assembly seemed to be so great that no deputy dared to refuse swearing to the constitution. Lucien himself was obliged to take the oath, which he did amid shouts and applauses throughout the hall. The cause of the conspirators appeared to be lost. The calling of the roll occupied two hours; and during the interval, intelligence of what was taking place having transpired throughout Paris, all the leaders of the *Société du Manège* hastened to the palace. Augereau drew near to Napoleon, and said: "Well, here you are, in a pretty situation!"—"Augereau," replied Napoleon, "remember Arcola: matters there appeared to be far more desperate. Take my advice, and remain quiet, if you would not fall a victim to this confusion. In half an hour you will see what a turn affairs have taken.'

Napoleon saw that the critical moment had arrived, and that his personal interposition had become indispensable. He crossed the saloon, entered the council

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of ancients, between Berthier and Bourrienne, and placed himself at the bar. His manner was excessively excited and embarrassed. His sentences, pronounced with the utmost passion, were abrupt and unconnected; but the substance of his harangue was somewhat as follows: "You stand upon a volcano," he cried: "the republic no longer possesses a government: the directory is dissolved: factions are at work: the hour of decision has come. You have called in my arm and the arms of my comrades: the moments are precious; it is necessary to take a decided part. I know that Cesar and Cromwell are talked of: I am called a tyrant — as if this day could be compared with past times. I desire nothing but the safety of the republic, and to maintain the resolutions which shall be adopted by you. And you, grenadiers, whose caps I perceive at the doors of this hall," he continued with a menacing air, turning round to them, as if he would remind the council of his military character and power, "speak; have I ever deceived you? Did I ever break my word, in camp, when, in the midst of privations and difficulties, I promised you victory and plenty; and when, at your head, I led you on from conquest to conquest? Declare, now, was it for my own aggrandizement, or for the benefit of the republic?"

The grenadiers seemed to be electrified, and waved their arms and caps in the air with tumultuous approbation. Linglet, a deputy, then rose, and taking advantage of what Napoleon had uttered about devotion to the council and the public good, said: "General, we approve what you say: swear, then, with all of us, allegiance to the constitution of the year three, which alone constitutes the public government, and alone can

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preserve the republic." A profound silence ensued upon this proposal: it was the cardinal instant of the scene, and of all Napoleon's fortunes. He paused for a moment to recall his thoughts, and then broke out with fury: "The constitution of the year three! It exists no longer! You violated it on the 18th of Fructidor, when the executive infringed on the independence of the legislative body: you violated it on the 30th of Prairial, when the legislature struck at the independence of the executive department: you violated it on the 22d of Floreal, when, by a parricidal decree, the executive and legislative bodies destroyed the sovereignty of the people, by annulling the elections which they had made. The constitution being violated and slain, there must be a new compact, new guaranties."

This energetic harangue baffled the design which his enemies had contrived, and which had prevailed in the other chamber. Three fourths of the assembly stood up to express their approbation; and Regnier and Cornudet spoke with great force to the same effect. A member then rose and denounced the general as the only conspirator against public liberty. Napoleon replied that he was in the secret of every party, and that all despised the constitution of the year three. He accused the directors, Barras and Moulins, also, of having proposed to put him at the head of a system which should oppose all men professing liberal opinions. This raised a fresh tumult. Demands were made for a committee to investigate the charge, and he was called on to state his accusations more explicitly. He replied by renewed attacks upon the council of five hundred, who, he said, wished for "scaffolds, revolutionary com-

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mittees, and a complete overthrow of everything." His manner became more and more unconnected: he spoke sometimes to the council and sometimes to the soldiers: he declared that he came there "attended by the god of war and the god of fortune." Intelligence was then brought to him that the calling of the names in the council of five hundred was finished, and that they were endeavoring to force his brother Lucien to put to the vote a motion for his outlawry; and Napoleon determined to hasten at once to the spot. He turned abruptly from the council of ancients, and crying out, "Let those who love me follow me," he passed out of the hall and reached the court-yard, and leaped upon his horse to cross to the other wing where the five hundred were sitting. He was received with shouts of "Vive Bonaparte!" which assured him that he might count upon the devotion of the military.

Accompanied by a few officers and grenadiers, he reached the council of five hundred, and leaving them at the door, he advanced into the chamber with his hat off. Two grenadiers expostulated with him on account of his imprudence, and said: "You do not know them, they are capable of anything." Napoleon moved on toward the bar, to arrive at which it was necessary to cross half the chamber. Scarcely had he passed over one third of the distance, when two or three hundred members suddenly arose; and from every part of the hall resounded cries of — "The sanctuary of the laws is violated!"—"Down with the tyrant!"—"Down with Cromwell!"—"Down with the dictator!" Napoleon attempted to speak, but his voice was drowned by shouts of "Vive la Republique!"—"Vive la Constitution!"—"Outlaw the dictator!" The two grenadiers

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who had opposed his entering, then rushed forward, sabres in hand, overthrowing all who stood in their way, and covering Napoleon with their persons. The other soldiers followed the example, and forced Napoleon out of the chamber. In the confusion, a soldier named Thomé was slightly wounded by the thrust of a dagger, and another had his clothes cut through. Napoleon descended into the courtyard, mounted his horse, called the troops around him by beat of drum, and addressed them as follows: "I was about to point out to them," said he, "the means of saving the republic and re-establishing our glory. They answered me with their daggers. It is thus that they were about to accomplish the wishes of the allied kings. What more could England have desired? Soldiers, can I rely upon you?" The loudest acclamations answered this address; and Napoleon immediately ordered a captain with ten men to go into the council of five hundred, and liberate the president.

Meanwhile, the utmost agitation and violence continued to prevail in the council of five hundred after Napoleon's withdrawal. Propositions of the most furious nature were made, and Lucien for a long time in vain attempted to restore tranquillity. As soon as he could be heard, he said: "The scene which has just taken place proves what are the sentiments of all. These I declare to be my sentiments also. It is reasonable, however, to suppose that the general had no other purpose in entering the hall than to give an account of the state of affairs, and to communicate information interesting to the public: for none of you, I am sure, can suppose him capable of projects hostile to liberty." Every sentence of this address was interrupted by cries

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of, "Bonaparte has tarnished his glory!"—"He is a disgrace to the republic!" Lucien made new endeavors to obtain a hearing: he begged that the general might be introduced again, and listened to with calmness. This was furiously opposed: "Outlaw Bonaparte!"—"Outlaw him!" rang through the assembly, and were the only replies made to the president. They called upon him to put to the vote the question of Napoleon's outlawry. Lucien now rose: "Wretches!" he exclaimed, "you demand that I should put out of the protection of the laws my brother, the savior of the country, him whose very name causes kings to tremble! I lay aside the insignia of the popular magistracy: I place myself in the tribune as the defender of him whom you insist that I should sacrifice unheard." With these words, he threw off his robe, quitted the chair, and darted into the tribune.

At this moment, the captain who had been sent by Napoleon appeared at the door of the hall, and exclaimed, "Vive la Republique!" The assembly supposing that the troops had sent a deputation to express their devotion to the councils, received him with expressions of joy. Availing himself of the misapprehension, he approached the tribune and secured the president, saying to him at the same time, in a low voice, "It is your brother's order." The grenadiers then rushed in, exclaiming, "Down with the assassins!" The assembly now understood the mission of the soldiers; a gloomy silence pervaded the company, and no opposition was offered to the departure of the president. Lucien quickly gained the court-yard, and, mounting a horse, addressed the troops with a stentorian voice, in a harangue which, as a specimen of ready

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thought and eloquence, and as a monument of the powers of the ablest of Napoleon's brothers, to whose firmness and coolness the success of the day was principally owing, deserves to be here recorded :—

"Citizens, soldiers!" he exclaimed, "the president of the council of five hundred declares to you, that the majority of that council is at this moment held in terror by a few representatives of the people, who are armed with stilettoes, and who surround the tribune, threatening their colleagues with death, and maintaining most atrocious discussions.

"I declare to you, that these brigands, who are doubtless in the pay of England, have risen in rebellion against the council of ancients, and have dared to talk of outlawing the general who is charged with the execution of its decree ; as if the word 'outlaw' was still to be regarded as the death-warrant of persons most dear to their country.

"I declare to you, that these madmen have outlawed themselves, by their attempts upon the liberty of the council. In the name of that people, who have been for so many ages the sport of terrorism, I consign to you the charge of rescuing the majority of their representatives ; so that, delivered by bayonets from stilettoes, they may deliberate upon the affairs of the republic.

"General, and you, soldiers, and you, citizens, will not acknowledge as legislators of France, any but those who rally about me. As for those who remain in the orangery, let them be expelled by force. They are not the representatives of the people, but the *representatives of the poniard!* Let that be their title, and let it follow them everywhere : and whenever they dare to show themselves to the people, let every finger point

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at them, and every tongue hail them by the title of the representatives of the poniard!"

"President," replied Napoleon, "your order shall be obeyed." Cries of "Vive Bonaparte!" followed the address of Lucien, but still there was some hesitation. The troops were not quite prepared to turn their arms against the national representatives. Lucien then drew his sword, and exclaimed, "I swear that I will stab my own brother to the heart, if he shall ever attempt anything against the liberties of Frenchmen." The effect of this dramatic action was decisive: hesitation vanished. Napoleon ordered Murat into the chamber, at the head of a detachment in close column. Murat presented himself at the door, and ordered the council to disperse. The cries and shouts continued, until Colonel Moulins ordered the charge to be beaten, which put an end to the clamor. The soldiers entered the apartment, charging bayonets. The deputies dispersed in confusion: many leaped out of the windows, leaving their gowns and caps; the most violent fled to Paris with precipitation: in a few moments, the hall was empty.

About a hundred members of the council of five hundred rallied about Lucien, and presented themselves in a body at the council of ancients. The president stated that his council had been dissolved at his instance, because he had been surrounded by daggers in the exercise of his functions as president of the assembly; that he had sent messengers to summon the council again; that nothing had been done contrary to orders, as the troops had acted strictly in obedience to his directions as president. The council of ancients, who had been somewhat alarmed by the inter-

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vention of the soldiery, were satisfied with this explanation.

The government which had ruled France for four years was thus terminated by the events of the day: it remained to establish some system in its place. The councils reassembled at eleven o'clock in the evening, that of the five hundred being represented by less than fifty persons, whom Lucien could count on for anything. Committees were appointed to report on the state of the republic; and on the motion of Beranger, thanks were voted to Napoleon and the troops. The law of the 19th of Brumaire was then passed: it adjourned the councils to the 1st of Ventose (19th of February) following, and created two committees of twenty-five to represent the councils provisionally. A provisional consular commission, vested with the whole executive power, was also established; and Sieyes, Ducos, and Napoleon, appointed consuls. Thus terminated the constitution of the year three, and thus was effectively established the dominion and empire of Napoleon.

At two in the morning of the 20th, the provisional consuls presented themselves in the chamber of the orangery, where the two councils were assembled. Lucien addressed them as follows: "Citizen-consuls, the greatest nation on earth confides its destinies to you. Three months hence, your acts must be submitted to the ordeal of public opinion. The happiness of thirty millions of people — domestic tranquillity — the wants of the armies — the public peace — such are to be the objects of your cares. Courage and devotion to duty are undoubtedly necessary for the undertaking of tasks so important: but the confidence of the citizens

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and of the soldiers is with you, and the legislative body is assured that your hearts are wholly with your country. Citizen-consuls, we have, previously to adjourning, taken the oath which you will repeat in the midst of us; the sacred oath of 'inviolable fidelity to the sovereignty of the people, to the French republic, one and indivisible, to liberty, to equality, and to the representative system.'"

The assembly then separated; and the consuls proceeded to Paris, to the palace of the Luxembourg. Thus was established the memorable revolution of the 18th and 19th of Brumaire.

THE PROVISIONAL CONSULATE.

The first meeting of the provisional consuls took place on the morning of the 11th of November, 1799; and its earliest business was the election of a president. That depended on the vote of Roger Ducos, who in the directory had always been governed by Sieyes, and who, the latter hoped, would still support his pretensions. No sooner had Ducos entered the cabinet, than he turned toward Napoleon and said: "It is useless to go into a vote on the presidency; it belongs to you of right." Napoleon then took the chair, and Ducos ever after voted with him, convinced that he was the only man capable of establishing and maintaining the government. This first sitting lasted several hours. Sieyes had hoped that Napoleon would confine his attention to military subjects, and leave all the civil departments to him: he was profoundly surprised to find that his new colleague had settled and clear opinions on all subjects of politics, finance, and jurispru-

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dence, and could support his views by arguments not very easy to answer. In the evening, on his return home, Sieyes said, in the presence of Talleyrand, Cabanis, and others, "Gentlemen, you have got a master: here is a man that knows everything, wants everything, and can do everything. In our unhappy situation, it is better to acquiesce than to provoke dissensions which will cause our ruin."

The first duty of the government was to organize a new administration. Berthier was appointed minister of war, in the place of Dubois de Crancé, who was wholly incompetent. In the room of Lindet, Gaudin, afterward duke of Gaëta, was made minister of finance, and by his industry, ability, and success, soon justified the propriety of his appointment. Cambereces retained the portfolio of minister of justice; Talleyrand, who had been removed by the Jacobin influence, in favor of M. Reinhard, was restored to the administration of foreign affairs; and the great Laplace was made minister of the interior, in the place of Quinette. Napoleon, who had formed a high idea of the celebrated geometrician, was utterly disappointed at his administration. He proved himself below mediocrity in executive business: he seized no question in its true point of view, but sought for subtleties in everything; he carried, said Napoleon, into the bureau of state "*l'esprit des infiniment petits.*" The appointments so far had been unanimous; but a difference arose about Fouché, who had filled the office of minister of police. Sieyes had a rooted aversion to this Jacobin and terrorist, and considered any government insecure in which he presided over the police. Napoleon agreed that his immorality, and his versatility of disposition, limited the confidence

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which could be placed in him, but remarked that he had been useful to the republic. "We are creating a new era," said he; "of the past, we must remember only the good and forget the evil. Time, habits of business, and experience, have formed many able men, and modified many characters." Fouché was, therefore, permitted to retain his place.

The legislative acts of the provisional government showed that it did not belong to those tyrannies which till that time had oppressed France, and being founded in antagonism to the good of the people, sustained themselves only by violence and rigor; but that it was in effect a restoration of legitimate and reasonable authority, which, being founded in the welfare and wishes of the people, and in sentiments of truth, and justice, and virtue, could support itself without the aid of arbitrary and forced enactments. Some of the adherents of the old constitution having organized a resistance which alarmed the police, a decree of transportation to the colonies was passed against them; and having accomplished its design of terrifying the anarchists and dispersing them, the deportation was changed for a mere observation, which was soon discontinued, and the decree itself repealed. The law of hostages, enacted some months previously by the Jacobins, by which above one hundred and fifty thousand persons were imprisoned as security for the conduct of all who were connected, abroad or at home, with the royalist movements, was repealed, and immense multitudes restored to liberty. The laws banishing, imprisoning, and persecuting the priests, were repealed; and it was agreed upon as a principle, that conscience is not amenable to the law, and that the claim of the sovereign extends

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only to obedience and fidelity. The law of the decades was repealed, and the sanctities of the sabbath restored to the longings of the people: the churches, in the city and in the country, were reopened; domestic religious observances were freely suffered; all forms of worship were allowed; and the full indulgence of religious feelings and usages permitted and encouraged. Every effort was made to repair the faults and oppressions of the previous governments: the members of the constituent assembly who had acknowledged the sovereignty of the people were erased from the list of emigrants; and under this permission, Lafayette, Latour-Maubourg, and others, returned to the enjoyment of their property. Napoleon labored to knit together into social harmony the threads of popular feeling which had been torn asunder by the distracting topics of the last few years; and for that purpose to remove everything that kept the sympathies of parties asunder. The oath of hatred to royalty was accordingly abolished, on the ground of its being useless and opposed to the majesty of the republic, which, acknowledged on all sides, needed no such support. The anniversary of the 21st of January, it was resolved, should be no longer observed. "That festival," said Napoleon, "is immoral, without pronouncing whether the death of Louis XVI. was just or unjust, politic or impolitic, useful or useless; and even if we decide that it was just, politic, and useful, it was, nevertheless, a national calamity: under such circumstances, the best thing is oblivion." Offices were bestowed indifferently upon men of all parties and of all safe opinions. Napoleon began at once the system, which in later years he carried out so fully, of consolidating the people, and ma-

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king the government the head of the nation, and not of a faction.

But the principal duty with which the provisional commission was charged, consisted in the settlement of a new constitution. By the existing law, the councils which had been adjourned on the 19th of Brumaire, were to reassemble on the 19th of February, 1800; and the only method of preventing this, was to proclaim a new constitution and offer it to the acceptance of the people before that time. Accordingly, the consuls and the two committees of the legislative body resolved themselves into a joint committee, which met in Napoleon's apartment every night during December from nine in the evening till three in the morning. On this subject, all eyes were directed to Sieyes, who had taken part in the formation of the constitutions of 1791, 1793, and 1795, who was understood to have his portfolio filled with constitutions adapted to all states of circumstance, and who had admitted to Talleyrand that politics was a science "que je crois avoir achevée." The views developed by this speculative statesman were undoubtedly very profound and able, and though the executive system which he proposed was not adopted, he had the honor of contriving the legislative scheme which continued to prevail until the downfall of Napoleon. This part of the system was to consist of a legislative body of two hundred and fifty deputies, a tribunal of one hundred deputies, and a council of state to be appointed by the executive. The last was to form a kind of privy council, and, with the executive, was to originate or propose all laws: these laws were to be discussed and reported upon in the tribunal; and then to be referred for decision to the legislative body, which

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was to vote upon the subject, but without the right of discussion. In addition to this, there was to be a species of constitutional jury, called the conservative senate, which was to play a part very similar in design to the political function of the supreme court of the United States: it was to be the flywheel of the whole machine. Sieyes had suggested this institution as early as 1795, but it had not then been adopted: it can hardly be doubted that he took the idea from the American constitution. He explained its purpose and use as follows: "The constitution," said he, "is not endowed with life; it requires a permanent body of judges to enter into its interests, and to interpret it in doubtful cases. Every political organization must consist of distinct parts: one will be charged with the task of governing or executing; another will discuss and establish laws. These various assemblies, whose functions are determined by the constitution, will sometimes give different interpretations to the constitution, and will sometimes conflict in their movements: the conservative senate will then be at hand to reconcile them, and to preserve each one in its orbit." The number of senators was to be eighty; they were to be at least forty years of age, and were to hold their places for life. The senate under the empire sank into a subserviency and corruption which rivalled those of the Roman imperial senate: yet as a theoretical conception, Sieyes's was certainly a fine one.

These views in regard to the legislature and senate were adopted, and became a part of the constitution; but as respected the executive, the grand capital and crowning ornament of the whole, Sieyes's suggestions proved so unacceptable to the ambition of Napoleon, that he shattered it to pieces at once, with a single blow of his

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powerful reason. Sieyes proposed a grand elector for life, who was to be appointed by the conservative senate, and to have a revenue of six millions of livres, and a guard of three thousand men: he was to reside in the palace of Versailles, and to receive and to accredit all embassadors: he was to be the sole representative of the power and dignity of the nation: all acts of state, all laws, and all judicial proceedings, were to be in his name; and he was to nominate two consuls, one for peace and one for war, and to have the power of removing and replacing them. Here his influence upon public affairs was to terminate; and the senate, whenever it deemed an exercise of power on his part arbitrary and opposed to the national interest, was to have the power of *merging the grand elector;* an operation which was to be equivalent to a removal, and was to vacate his office, leaving him a seat in the senate for the rest of his life.

During the previous discussions, Napoleon had said but little, for he felt less concern about the legislative and judicial parts of the constitution; but the executive government was an affair that concerned himself, and he therefore rose to oppose this strange plan. His remarks are characterized by that consummate sense, and direct practical sagacity, which rendered his opinions on all subjects profoundly interesting and valuable: "The grand elector, if he limits himself to the functions which you assign to him, will be the shadow, the mere fleshless shadow, of a *Roi Fainéant:* can you point out a man base enough to humble himself to such a pageantry? If he chooses to abuse his prerogative, his powers become absolute. If, for example, I were made grand elector, I would say to the consuls for war and

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for peace, when I appointed them, 'If you nominate a single minister, if you sign a single act, without my previous approbation, I shall remove you.' But it is answered, the senate in its turn will merge the grand elector! The remedy is worse than the evil: nobody, according to this scheme, has any guaranty. But there is another point of view: what will be the situation of these two prime ministers? One will have the ministers of justice, of the interior, of police, of finance, and of the treasury, under his control: the other, those of the navy, of the army, and of foreign relations. The first will be surrounded only by judges, administrators, financiers, men of the long robe: the second, only by epaulettes and military men. One will be wanting money and supplies for his army; the other will not furnish any. Such an executive would be a monstrous creation, composed of heterogeneous materials, presenting nothing rational. *It is a great mistake to suppose that the shadow of a thing can be of the same use as the thing itself.*"

To these powerful observations, Sieyes answered unsatisfactorily, and was soon reduced to silence. Finally, all opinions were reconciled by the composition of an executive of three consuls: one of whom, as head of the government, was to possess all the authority, and make all appointments and decisions; and the other two were to be his indispensable counsellors. Unity of action would thus be gained; and yet the spirit of republicanism would be preserved by allowing to the other consuls the privilege of advising, and recording their opinions on public documents.

The labors of the framers of the new government were at last brought to an harmonious close. The con

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stitution of the year eight was published and submitted to the sanction of the people on the 22d of Frimaire, year eight (13th of December, 1799), and proclaimed on the 24th of the same month. The provisional government thus lasted forty-three days. Sieyes might have been second consul, if he had desired it; but he chose to retire: he was made a member of the senate, contributed to organize that body, and was made its first President. Ducos also retired. Napoleon was made first consul for ten years; Cambaceres second consul for ten years; and Lebrun third consul for five years. The council of state was established on the 24th of December, 1799.

THE CONSULATE.

The sovereignty of Napoleon, as first consul, began on the 25th of December, 1799, on which day the new constitution came into operation; and he at once notified to all foreign powers, and to all the French diplomatic agents abroad, his accession to the consulate. The title which he bore was so vague in its signification, that the nature and extent of the supremacy vested in him were to depend essentially upon his own construction and will. He determined that the symbol of authority which had been conferred upon him should assume "the likeness of a kingly crown;" and for that purpose, he not only began at once to exercise the power of a monarch, but to invest himself with all the circumstances of royalty, and to address the eyes and imagination of the country by the image, and state, and demeanor of sovereignty. The methods which he took for the acquiring of regal dignity and power on the one

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hand, and conciliating the sentiments of the republicans on the other, exhibit that profound acquaintance with the nature of men, and inexhaustible ingenuity in playing successfully upon them, which formed one of the most astonishing features in the character of this wonderful man. His first decided act was the direct and entire subjugation of the press. On the 17th of January, a decree appeared, stating that "the consuls of the republic, considering that some of the journals printed at Paris are *instruments in the hands of the enemies of the republic*, over the safety of which the government is specially intrusted by the people of France to watch, decree that the minister of police shall, during the continuation of the war, allow only the following journals to be printed and published:" enumerating certain newspapers, and including all which were exclusively devoted to science, art, literature, commerce, and advertisements. At the same time, he took care to do acts, in the public eye, which illustrated the republican and the mere soldier, so frankly and openly, that no suspicion could be created of a design to raise himself above the equality which the revolution had decreed. In a presentation of sabres and muskets of honor which he made at the Luxembourg to the old soldiers of his armies, one was assigned to a grenadier sergeant, named Leon Aune. Aune was encouraged to address a letter of thanks to the first consul, who replied by the following letter in his own name: "I have received your letter, my brave comrade. You needed not to have told me of your exploits, for you are the bravest grenadier in the whole army since the death of Benezete. You received one of the hundred sabres which I distributed to the army, and all agreed that you most de-

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served it. I wish very much to see you. The war minister sends you an order to come to Paris." A sergeant written to, and called *my brave comrade*, by the first consul, was enough to prove the thorough republicanism of the new chief, and kindled the enthusiasm of the friends of equality. On the strength of the confidence in him, with which this inspired the people, Napoleon resolved to transfer his residence to the Tuileries, and with great pomp establish himself in the palace of the old kings of France.

The importance of this step on the minds of the people for the accomplishment of his imperial designs, Napoleon knew to be infinite; but he took great pains to treat it as a matter of no consequence, and to accompany it with further manifestations of his sympathies with everything which was hostile to tyrants. Orders were given to Lecomte, the architect of the Tuileries, simply to *clean* the palace, and to fit up the apartments inexpensively and with simple ornaments. He announced as the only reason for his change of dwelling, that his rooms at the Luxembourg were small and inconvenient. To show that he entered the palace, not as a monarch, but as a representative of hostility to thrones, he gave particular orders for placing conspicuously in a gallery a very fine bust of Brutus, which had been brought from Italy. Intelligence of the death of Washington being received about the same time, he seized the occasion of signalizing his admiration and respect for that vindicator of freedom. He at once issued the following order of the day to the consular guard and the army: "Washington is dead! — that great man who fought against tyranny, and consolidated his country's freedom. His memory will be always

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dear to Frenchmen, and to all freemen on both continents. It will be especially dear to the French soldiers, who, like the American soldiers and himself, have contended also for liberty and equality. The first consul, therefore, orders that for ten days black crape shall be suspended from all the flags and standards of the republic." A splendid ceremony had been appointed for the 10th of February, just ten days before the intended removal to the Tuileries, for the purpose of presenting to the temple of Mars the flags taken at the battle of Aboukir; and it was determined to connect with it a commemoration in honor of Washington. Accordingly, on the appointed day, after the procession had reached the temple, M. de Fontanes pronounced his well-known *éloge* upon Washington, and the bust of the great republican was placed under the trophy composed of the flags of Aboukir. It was arranged, also, that the publication of the oration should be kept back for ten days, so that it should appear in the *Moniteur* on the morning of the occupation of the Tuileries.

On the 17th of February, 1800, the account of the votes on the acceptance of the constitution was published; and on the following day the ceremony of taking possession of the Tuileries was celebrated. "It disgusts me to go in procession," said Napoleon to Bourrienne, when he called him in the morning; "but I must do it: it is necessary to speak to the eyes. That has a good effect on the people. The directory was too simple, and therefore never enjoyed any consideration. In the army, simplicity is in its proper place; but in a great city, in a palace, the chief of the government must attract attention in every possible way, yet still with prudence." At one o'clock, on the 18th,

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the procession left the Luxembourg. A body of three thousand picked soldiers, among whom was the superb regiment of the guides, led the way, marching in the most perfect order, with music at the head of each corps. The generals and their respective staffs on horseback, and the ministers in carriages, followed; and then came the first consul, in a carriage drawn by six white horses, with Lebrun in the front of the carriage and Cambaceres on his left. The horses recalled the glorious days of the Italian campaign, as they had been presented to the general-in-chief by the emperor of Germany, after the treaty of Campo Formio. The *cortége* traversed a considerable part of Paris, and Napoleon was greeted everywhere with the liveliest and most sincere acclamations of joy. From the entrance to the Carrousel to the gate of the Tuileries, the consular guard was ranged in two lines, between which the procession passed — a royal custom, which sufficiently attested that the state, as well as the residence, of the Bourbons was resumed. Yet in entering the court-yard, Napoleon passed before the guard-house, on which still stood the memorable inscription in great letters: "The 10th of August, 1792. Royalty in France is abolished, and shall never again be restored."

When the consular carriage stopped, Lebrun and Cambaceres proceeded at once to the state apartment, and Napoleon mounted his horse to review the troops, which were now formed into line in the court-yard. This part of the scene was prolonged for some time: the chief passed down all the ranks, and addressed the commanders of the various corps with words of remembrance and praise. Shouts rose from every quarter, as if with one voice, "Long live the First Consul!" Na-

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poleon then took his station at the gate of the Tuileries, with Murat on his right, Lannes on his left, and the staffs of the armies of Italy and Egypt behind him. The troops defiled past him, and when the flags of the ninety-sixth, forty-third, and thirtieth demi-brigades, or rather their flagstaffs, surmounted by some tatters riddled with balls and blackened by powder, passed before him, he raised his hat and bowed in token of respect. On every occasion that this was done, the air was rent with the acclamations of thousands. After the review was ended, the first consul ascended the steps of the Tuileries; and in the apartments of the palace gave audience to the ministers of state and other persons of distinction.

Nothing was now omitted that could serve, insensibly yet effectively, to transform the sword of the conqueror into the sceptre of ancient and legitimate royalty. On his first visit to the Tuileries, to give directions for their refitting, before taking possession, Napoleon had observed a number of red caps of liberty on the walls: "Brush all these things out," said he to Lecomte, the architect, "I do not like to see such rubbish." The process of usurpation was carried on with consummate sagacity; and the prerogatives of the crown assumed in a way rather to increase than diminish popularity. One of the privileges which the old kings possessed, that was not granted to the first consul by the constitution, was that of granting pardons. With exquisite tact, Napoleon summoned to the justification of his first seizure of regal supremacy, the human sympathies of mercy and pity. But nothing was beyond or beneath the wisdom of a mind which, in the pursuit of its objects of ambition, could expand to the dimensions of the

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world, or contract to the minutest point of court etiquette. He settled the costumes of the consuls and ministers, and took care to restore the use of velvet, which had been banished with the old regime: the pretext for the revival of this unrepublican article was the encouragement of the manufactures of Lyons. Another act was partly a stroke of policy, and partly a just and manly tribute to honor and virtue. Target, who had refused to defend Louis XVI., was up to this time president of the court of cassation; at the reorganization of that tribunal, Napoleon removed him, and appointed in his place Tronchet, who did defend him.

Royal not merely in his outward state and power, but in the grandeur and liberality of his feelings and conceptions, Napoleon devoted himself with ceaseless activity to all the great civil enterprises that could promote the glory of the nation and advance the interests of mankind. The whole political system of the country was restored from the injuries and dislocation which it had received from the revolutionary overthrow. The administration of justice — the re-establishment of finance — the advancement of education — everything that became the attention of a government — received from Napoleon a consideration and an assistance which filled each department with vivid life. The improvement of the city of Paris by the opening of streets, the construction of quays, and the erection of bridges and buildings, was one of his first and most earnest concerns. From the lawless and destructive style of his conduct while a general, it might justly be said of Napoleon, "*Non* dignum imperasse consensu *ullius*, nisi imperasset;" but the grand conservative, creative system which he developed when in power, constitutes the

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highest right to empire which any modern and original dynasty can rest upon. "It is for France," said he, "that I am doing all this! All that I wish, all that I desire, the end of all my labors is, that my name should be indissolubly connected with that of France." The motive of all these toils was, in a certain sense, no doubt selfish; but he was acting upon that scale of greatness "which makes ambition virtue." He sought to multiply the evidences of his genius and character; and afford as many points and surfaces as possible for the reflection of those rays of admiration and gratitude which might one day be brought to the focus of an everlasting fame. "A great reputation," said he, "is a great noise: the more there is made, the farther off it is heard. Laws, institutions, monuments, nations, all fall; but the noise continues and resounds in after-ages."

But in the midst of all these pacific schemes, Napoleon felt the necessity of his gaining a great victory, in order to consolidate his power and give him for the support of his greatness the same aid to which he was indebted for its establishment. "A newly-born government," said he to Bourrienne, "must dazzle and astonish: when it ceases to do that, it falls." — "My power," he would say at other times, "depends upon my glory, and my glory upon my victories. My power would fall, were I not to support it by new glory and new victories. Conquest has made me what I am, and conquest alone can maintain me." With Prussia and Russia the first consul's relations were entirely friendly: with the latter, indeed, they were extremely cordial. Napoleon had not, perhaps, a warmer admirer in Europe than the emperor Paul, who had conceived a kind of enthu-

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siasm for him, and frequently wrote to him in the most familiar and intimate way. England and Austria were the great and active enemies of France: and the first consul, pursuing in policy the same system which had given him such splendid success in war, resolved, if possible, to separate these allied powers, and then destroy each of them separately and in succession. "You see, Bourrienne," said he to his secretary, "I have two great enemies to cope with. I will conclude peace with the one I find most easy to deal with. That will enable me immediately to assail the other. I frankly confess, I should like best to be at peace with England. Nothing would then be easier than to crush Austria. She has no money, except what she gets through England." Accordingly, on the very first day of his accession to the consular throne, the 25th of December, 1799, Napoleon had addressed a letter personally to George the Third, making proposals for a peace. The inevitable sagacity of Mr. Pitt detected at the moment, what the conversation and writings of Napoleon sixteen years later fully avowed, that the proposition was insincere and unreal: and Lord Grenville, the secretary for foreign affairs, was directed to send an answer pointing out that the hope of a solid peace, upon the basis of the circumstances then existing, was delusive and impracticable.

Austria meanwhile had been making the most alarming progress in Italy, which had again fallen completely into her power, and was overrun and occupied by her armies. With the utmost secresy and activity, Napoleon, during the winter of 1799–1800, prepared the blow which he delivered with such lightning-like effect upon the plains of Marengo, in the summer of the lat-

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ter year. At two o'clock on the morning of the 6th of May, the first consul left Paris, and he returned to it on the night of the 2d of July. The interval was filled by the immortal CAMPAIGN OF MARENGO. This fine achievement of military genius may be read at large in the notice on Marshal Lannes, in whose biography, on account of his eminent services during the whole of it, it was deemed proper to be inserted. Napoleon, on his return, was received with more vivid enthusiasm than at any other period in his life. The consulate was immovably established, and the empire rendered certain. For a moment his insatiable appetite for glory seemed to be appeased: "Well," said he to a friend, "a few more events like this campaign, and I may go down to posterity." Coming home one day from a parade, "Bourrienne," said he, "do you hear the acclamations still resounding? That noise is as sweet to me as the sound of Josephine's voice. How happy and proud I am to be loved by such a people!"

Napoleon, who never lost an opportunity of kindling the gratitude of his soldiers, or inflaming the citizens with the passion of military glory, proceeded to commemorate the achievement in every way that could give it additional lustre. Sabres of honor were distributed to Lannes, Victor, Murat, Watrin, and Gardanne, bearing the inscription: "Battle of Marengo, commanded by the first consul in person: given by the government of the republic to General ——." Sabres of less value, and muskets and drumsticks of honor, were also given to officers, soldiers, and drummers, who had distinguished themselves in the campaign. A grand celebration of the victory was also ordered for the 14th of July, one of the early festivals of the republic. In the

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presence of an immense crowd in the Champ de Mars, and in the church of the Invalides, then the temple of Mars, Lucien, minister of the interior, delivered a glowing speech on the prospects of France, and Lannes presented the flags taken at Marengo, with an appropriate address. Napoleon then made a speech, in which he spoke of Berthier as the commander-in-chief whose genius was attested by the trophies of the day. One of the most remarkable circumstances of the occasion was the arrival, during the solemnity, of the consular guard from Marengo in the Champ de Mars. Wearing, not the gay uniforms of a parade day, but the soiled and dusty dress in which they had left the field of battle, and marched across Lombardy, Piedmont, the Alps, Savoy, and France, they defiled before their chief, with their battered arms and sun-browned countenances, and the deepest enthusiasm that nature could experience, was stirred in the bosoms of the multitude who beheld them. Napoleon remembered, also, the honor of the dead, as well as the greatness of the living: the name of Desaix was given to a new quay, the first stone of which was laid with great solemnity on the same day.

Meanwhile, Moreau, at the head of the army of Germany, was winning honors scarcely less brilliant. The battle of Hohenlinden was fought on the 3d of December, 1800: the army of Italy, under Brune, passed the Mincio on the 20th of the same month; and on the 9th of February, 1801, the treaty of Luneville was signed between Austria and France, by which Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine were ceded to France, and Lombardy, as far as the Adige, erected into an independent state. From this time forward the attention of Napoleon was directed to the invasion of England.

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An immense flotilla was assembled along the channel coast, and particularly in the harbors of Boulogne and Dunkirk; and every preparation indicated an intended descent upon the island. The armistice, however (for it was nothing more), known as the peace of Amiens, postponed for a time the direct collision of these two great rivals and enemies. The preliminaries of this treaty were signed at London, on the 1st of October, 1801; and about the same time, peace was concluded with America, with Turkey, and with Bavaria.

The interval from the treaty of Luneville until the opening of the campaign of Austerlitz, is the longest period of peace upon the continent that intervenes in the stormy career of Napoleon. It was employed in labors even more gigantic, more glorious, and far more honorable, than those subsequent military efforts which shook the nations of Europe to their foundation. It was the gradual and quiet, but resolute and entire, repeal of the revolution: it was the reorganization of society, which the republicans had reduced to destruction and impossibility. The annals of the world do not present an enterprise more nearly sublime, undertaken with a courage more imposing, and accomplished with an ability more surpassing, than are exhibited in the task which Napoleon essayed and accomplished during these four years of repose. This portion of the greatness of this extraordinary person has been too little attended to. The eyes of men have been so dazzled by the ceaseless flashes of his military genius, as to overlook the steadier lustre that glows in inextinguishable brightness from another part of his renown. Nothing in the intellect and character of Napoleon presents greater claims to the reverence of mankind, than the

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great political conceptions which he developed and realized at this time. If the world was not "blinded" to this portion of his character by the "excess of light" that streams from another portion, it would be acknowledged that his grandeur as a statesman was commensurate with his glory as a warrior; and as the celebrity of every soldier who preceded him is eclipsed or shaded by his military fame, so the distinction of every earlier legislator and every founder of nations and governments would be lost in the blaze of his civil reputation.

Though in the forces which animated his character, no doubt Napoleon was "the child and champion of democracy," no man apprehended more clearly the impracticability of the conditions which the revolutionists had sought to impose upon France. He abhorred and detested Jacobinism as the very insanity of political reason; and the moment he felt himself strong enough, he proceeded to crush a party and an influence which were hateful to every sentiment of his mind and heart. The explosion of the infernal machine was seized upon as an occasion for signalizing his hostility to this faction.

On the night of the 24th of December, 1800, the first performance of Haydn's great oratorio of the Creation took place at the opera; and Napoleon, with Lannes, Berthier, and Lauriston, in the carriage with him, drove thither from the Tuileries, followed at some distance by another carriage containing Josephine, Madame Murat, and Hortense, and attended by the aide-de-camp Rapp. Napoleon's carriage had reached the middle of the place Carrousel, when a cart was found obstructing the way. Without stopping, the guard struck the driver two or three times with the flat of his

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sabre; the cart turned round, and a tremendous explosion took place. Eight persons were killed, twenty-eight wounded, and immense damage done to the surrounding houses: the windows of Napoleon's carriage were shattered, but none of the inmates hurt. Within a few seconds of the concussion, the coachman stopped to take the first consul's orders: he coolly said, "Drive to the opera." At the time of the explosion, Josephine's carriage had just entered the place Carrousel: the windows were broken, and Hortense slightly wounded in the hand. When Rapp entered the theatre, Napoleon was seated in his box, calm, composed, and looking at the audience through his opera-glass. "Josephine —" said he, as soon as he saw Rapp. She entered at that moment, and he did not finish the question. "The rascals," said he, very coolly, "wanted to blow me up. Bring me a book of the oratorio."

The audience soon become informed of the cause of the explosion which they had heard, and of the escape of the first consul; and they testified their interest and satisfaction by prolonged acclamations.

Napoleon, after remaining a short time at the opera, returned to the Tuileries; and intelligence of the occurrence having rapidly spread through Paris, the grand saloon of the palace was speedily filled with functionaries, who assembled to congratulate and to learn. The first consul's view of the subject was quickly pronounced; and his indignation blazed forth like a storm of the heavens. "It is the work of the Jacobins!" he exclaimed; "they have attempted my life. There are neither nobles, priests, nor Chouans, in this affair. I understand what I am about, and they need not expect to impose upon me. They are the Septembrizers, the

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wretches who have been in open revolt and conspiracy against every government that the country has had. It is not three months since my life was attempted by Ceracchi, Arena, Lebrun, and Demerville. They all belong to the same gang. The cut-throats of September, the assassins of Versailles, the brigands of the 31st of May, the conspirators of Prairial, are the authors of all crimes committed against established governments. If they can not be kept in order, they shall be crushed. France must be purged of these ruffians!" The subject was discussed on the following day in the council of state; and when some one proposed a special commission to investigate the subject, Napoleon again broke out: "The action of a special tribunal would be too tardy: there must be an extraordinary punishment; it must be as swift as lightning; it must be blood for blood. As many of the guilty must be slain as there were victims of this hellish plot; say fifteen or twenty: two hundred more must be transported. This crime is the work of the miscreants of September, who may be traced through all the crimes of the revolution. When a blow is hurled at the head of that gang, and its chiefs are handed over to disgrace, things will return to their natural order: the workmen will resume their employments, and ten thousand men, who are now affiliated with it, will leave it for ever. This signal example is necessary to attach the respectable classes to the government: the industrious people of the city lose all hope, while they see themselves menaced by two hundred enraged wolves, waiting for the proper moment to leap upon their prey. It is the metaphysicians to whom we owe all our misfortunes. Half measures will no longer do. When Cicero, after Catiline's conspiracy,

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caused the guilty to be strangled, he declared that he had saved his country! I should be unworthy of my mission, if I evinced less firmness at this critical moment. We must look at this matter as statesmen, and not as a judicial tribunal. I am so fully satisfied of the duty of making a memorable example, that I am ready to summon the accused before myself, examine them, and sign their sentence alone. I speak not on my own account; I have braved far greater dangers: fortune will always take care of me: but we are now concerned with the interests of social order, public morality, and national safety and honor."

Words of transcendent wisdom! than which Burke, in the most enlightened hour of his inspiration, never uttered any more profound, more luminous, more just. The ingenuity of military skill which contrived the movement of Arcola, was not more surpassing than the enthusiasm of philosophic intelligence which seized upon the sentiment that the metaphysical politics of the cannibals of the revolution were at utter war with all human society, and that the extermination of the gang that professed them was the first interest of the state and the first duty of the person who was charged with its safety. Never were the instincts of statesmanship more eminent, or the sagacity of individual reason more nearly divine in its penetration, than in this reference of the guilt of the act to the democratic faction, and in this decision, that the political vengeance which such an attempt required must be visited upon the Jacobins. It was afterward ascertained that the persons who had executed this infernal contrivance were really members of the royalist party; and this fact has been used to discredit the accuracy of Napoleon's judg-

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ment, and the candor of his proceedings. It only shows the still more admirable sagacity of a mind which, through the exterior of a deceptive form, could see the essential nature of the transaction. Individually the actors in this affair may have been Chouans; but they were, in this proceeding, representatives of the Jacobin faction. They may have continued to profess the objects of royalism; but in relation to the consular government, they were effectively Jacobins. In respect to Napoleon, they were acting upon Jacobinical principles and inflamed by Jacobinical passions. Jacobinism, really, was responsible for the attempt; and its success would have been a triumph of the Jacobin party. The political effect of the explosion was to stimulate the ferocity and encourage the intrigues of the popular party; and while the men who were discovered to have been immediately concerned in the arrangements of the cart were handed over to the ordinary tribunals, the political victims of the offence were properly selected from the old chiefs of the Robespierre party. "Talk not to me of nobles and priests," said Napoleon, to those who suggested that the enterprise might have proceeded from the Bourbon emissaries: "would you have me proscribe men on account of their titles, or transport ten thousand grayhaired priests? Would you have me persecute a religion still professed by a majority of Frenchmen, and by two thirds of Europe? Would you have me dismiss all my councillors except two or three, and choose a cabinet from among the followers of Babœuf? It is absurd to pretend that the people will do no wrong, except when they are prompted to it by others. The people are guided by an instinct, and they act in obedience to that alone.

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During the revolution, the leaders who appeared to guide them, were generally driven on by them. The populace is a tiger when he is unmuzzled. Chouannerie and emigration are maladies of the skin; but terrorism is a malady of the vital parts. The proposed step is grounded upon considerations independent of the late event: that only affords the occasion for putting them in force."

In compliance with these energetic views, an extraordinary decree was passed by the council of state, and confirmed by the senate, consigning one hundred and thirty of the leading Jacobins to transportation, among whom were some of the most celebrated members of the convention, and instigators of the successive outrages that had disgraced the reign of terror. This decree was instantly carried into execution, with the utmost rigor: and the organization which had set all good government at defiance for ten years was at length dissolved, at least for a period. Applications were made, in vain, for a remission of the punishment of some of these persons; but the first consul was inexorable. "There is not a man of them," said he, "who has not a hundred times deserved death for his conduct during the revolution. These are the miscreants who have covered France with scaffolds: and the infernal machine is not mentioned as the ground of the decree. With a single company of grenadiers, I could put to flight all the royalist coteries and the whole Faubourg Saint-Germain; but the Jacobins are men of a determined stamp, who do not give way so easily. As for transporting the Jacobins, that is nothing; I have got rid of them." Nothing could display greater prudence and vigor than this mode of eradicating the explosive

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element from French society. If any fault was committed by Napoleon, it consisted in not carrying the process of extermination still further. It was the lingering and reviving influence of this same faction, which, fifteen years later, precipitated him from the throne.

But the great task of knitting together the nation in the organization of a living political existence remained to be accomplished. The conceptions of Napoleon on this subject had a singular resemblance to those which the mind of Hamilton had developed, under somewhat similar circumstances, in this country, fifteen years before. The revolution had completely effaced all distinctions of classes; and the materials for the erection of a government at once strong and free, were wanting. To arrange the elements of equality in such relation as, without departing from republicanism, to develop an effect essentially aristocratic; to establish such institutions as should have the complex character of freedom, and be in their nature liberal, while in their influence they were conservative, was the great and difficult task which the intellect of the first consul proposed to itself. The process of constructing a political system which, while it should have ranks and an allegiance, and a central object to engage the imagination, and passions, and interests, and affections of men, should yet be neither feudal nor legitimate, was conducted with profound and exquisite sagacity. And in every part of the reasoning by which the first consul sustained his suggestions, we are forcibly reminded of that thorough acquaintance with human nature, and with the analysis of political operations, which led the genius of Hamilton to contrive and establish all that is most valuable in the American constitution.

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In government and in society, the strongest influence in support of eminence, is the advantage derived to others from the lustre shed on them from the brilliance which they, in turn, contribute to augment. The possession and enjoyment of rank and consequence, create an interest in the maintenance of that authority which is their origin, or whose recognition may be appealed to as their proof and seal. The love of station inspires a fondness for that which is the source of station; and to be the fountain of honor is one of the firmest bonds by which the throne has, at all times and in every country, attached to itself the loyalty and devotion of men of wealth and greatness. Napoleon availed himself of the force of these considerations in the establishment of the two most important institutions of his reign — the legion of honor, and the hereditary nobility. The latter, indeed, was not accomplished until several years later; but it proceeded upon the same ground, and was similar in its character. The peculiarity of these orders was, that while they supported the throne, and fostered loyalty, and made a powerful resistance to Jacobinism, they were yet constructed upon such principles as to be directly antagonist to all the Bourbon notions, and to oppose a return to the old system of ranks and decorations. "The object of the revolution which had just been effected," says Napoleon himself, in his dictations to Gourgaud, alluding to the counter-movement by which he himself had been placed at the head of the system, "was not the possession of a form of government more or less aristocratic or democratic; its success depended on the consolidation of all interests, and on the triumph of every principle for which the wishes of the nation had been unanimously pronounced in

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1789. Napoleon was convinced that France could exist only as a monarchy; but the French people being more desirous of equality than of liberty, and the very principle of the revolution being the equalization of all classes, there was, of necessity, a complete abolition of the aristocracy. If it is difficult to construct a republic on a solid basis without an aristocracy, the difficulty of establishing a monarchy is much greater. To form a constitution in a country without any kind of aristocracy, would be as vain as to attempt to navigate in one element only. The French revolution undertook a problem as difficult of solution as the direction of a balloon." To supply this deficiency, and, by an ingenious mechanism, to make one element produce the effects of several, was the daring and delicate labor which Napoleon undertook; and which, in his hands, was crowned with entire and splendid success.

Accordingly, early in May, 1801, the first consul brought forward his proposal for the establishment of the legion of honor; and it was by the force of his profound and sagacious reasonings that the legislature was led to adopt it. Nothing in philosophy is more able and sound than the views by which he sustained the importance of this institution. "I defy you," said he, in combating the arguments used against it in the council of state, speaking with that perfect contempt for human nature, and that almost inspired knowledge of its weaknesses, follies, and vices, which constituted the impulse of his ambition and the spell of his power — "I defy you to show me a republic, ancient or modern, where distinctions have not prevailed. You may say they are baubles: well, it is with baubles that you govern the world. I have no conception that the passion

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for liberty and equality is to be lasting in France. Ten years of a revolution have not been enough to make such a change in the French; they are still as gallant and volatile as their Gaulish ancestors. They have one predominant sentiment, and that is honor: everything should be done, therefore, to foster and encourage that feeling. Observe how much the people were struck by the decorations of the strangers who have come among us: that showed their secret inclination. You may call the legion of honor an order, if you please: that matters not, names do not change the characters of things. For ten years you have been talking continually about institutions; and, after all, what have you done? Nothing at all: it was always said that the moment had not arrived. The republicans expected to attach the people to the country by assembling them in churches, where, dead with cold, they were to listen to the reading and expounding of the laws. It may easily be conjectured what effect an institution like that would have in uniting their affections to the government. If you judge of this institution by the prejudices of the revolution, I am quite aware that it must appear to you worse than useless; but, if you consider that we are placed *after* a revolution, and are called upon to reconstruct society, a very opposite opinion must be formed. Everything has been destroyed: we have to commence the work of creation. We have, to be sure, a nation and a government; but they are held together by a rope of sand. Meanwhile, there are among us several of the old privileged classes, who are united by the identity of their principles and interests, and who will always follow a definite object, while we are severed, and without sys-

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tem and connexion. While I am alive, I will answer for the safety of the republic; but we must consider what is likely to happen after I am gone. Do you think that the republic is definitively established? You were never in a greater error. We have the opportunity of doing it: but we have not yet done it, and it never will be done until some masses of granite have been scattered throughout France. Do you imagine that you can trust the people for the preservation of your institutions? Trust me, you are mistaken. In a short time, they will shout "Vive le Roi!" or "Vive la Ligue!" with as much fervor as they now cry "Vive la Republique!" We must give a permanent direction to the public impulse, and to do that we must provide instruments."

By arguments of this kind, Napoleon succeeded in inducing his councils to sanction this order; but the nicer task remained, of impressing upon this creation such peculiarities as should distinguish it entirely from the ancient close orders, and should give it a liberality and breadth of spirit which would make it and keep it essentially republican. To the proposition of one of the council of state, that the decoration should be confined to military merit, Napoleon at once offered a decided opposition. He insisted that it should be open to every kind of merit. To have confined it to the army, would, in the first place, have tended to create a permanent caste in the nation, and, in the next place, would have thrown all civil interests into an inferiority very injurious to the character of the nation. That Napoleon, educated to arms from childhood, and owing all his power to his profession, could have risen so completely above all the prejudices of his occupation,

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and taken views so great and general as the following, shows how wonderfully expanded by nature the range of his mind must have been, and how vast must have been the comprehension of an intelligence of which a military genius like his own was not the larger part: "In all civilized states," said he, "force yields to civil qualities. Bayonets fall before the priest who speaks in the name of Heaven, or the man of science, whose knowledge has given him a superiority. I predicted to all my military followers, that a government purely military would never succeed in France, until it had been brutalized by fifty years of ignorance. Accordingly, all the attempts to govern in that manner failed, and involved their authors in ruin. It is not as a general that I govern, but because the people believe me possessed of the ability in civil matters necessary for the head of affairs. Without that, I could not keep my place an hour. I knew well what I was doing, when, though a general, I took the title of member of the Institute: I was sure of not being misunderstood by the lowest drummer in the army. We must not argue from ages of barbarity to these times. France is composed of thirty millions of people, united by intelligence, property, and commerce. Three or four hundred thousand soldiers are nothing in such a mass. Not only does the general preserve his ascendant over his soldiers chiefly by civil qualities, but, when his command terminates, he becomes again merely a private person. Soldiers, themselves, are only children of citizens. The tendency of military men is to carry everything by force: the enlightened civilian, on the other hand, raises his thoughts to a consideration of the general good. The former would rule everything by

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direct force: the other brings things to the tests of discussion, reason, and truth. I do not hesitate, therefore, to say that, if a discrimination is to be made between the two, the preferences ought to be given to the civilian. If you distinguish between citizens and soldiers, you make two castes, where there should be one nation. If you confine honors to the military class, you do worse; for you degrade the people into insignificance." It is impossible to doubt the greatness of intellect, the strength of judgment, or the dignity of character, of one who could form, and act upon, views like these, under the circumstances in which Napoleon had been placed. His imagination had never become intoxicated by the incense of admiration which had risen up to him from the fields of a hundred victories: his vanity had never become inflamed into a selfish eagerness to give the highest rank to those pursuits in which his superiority had been so splendidly displayed; but, calm in perception, firm in counsel, and sound in judgment — loving truth in the processes and objects of his understanding, and conscious of his ability to achieve as great a reputation in civil affairs as he had already acquired in military — he weighed his profession and his own renown in the scales of just and comprehensive reason, and determined their relative might with unbiased accuracy.

The views of Napoleon as to the character and effect of this institution were realized in the most striking manner. In consequence of its not being confined to a single class or profession, but thrown open to society in general, as a reward for every species of talent and merit, the value of the crosses seemed to increase with their number. At St. Helena, Napoleon estimated that he

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had distributed twenty-five thousand of these decorations; and the desire to obtain them increased to such a degree that it became a mania.

The establishment of a nobility was a part of the same great system which Napoleon had now conceived; but he never hurried the execution of his schemes: he often said to his council of state, "I want twenty years to accomplish my plans:" and accordingly, titles of honor were not instituted until 1807. However, as the constitution of this nobility strikingly resembled that of the legion of honor, and was as strikingly distinguished from the feudal ranks of old France and the rest of Europe as it was from the orders which had previously been known, it is most proper to give an account of its structure here. He has himself, in one of his dictations to Gourgaud, given a view of the subject so profound, so luminous, and so satisfactory, that it may be adopted here as the best exposition of the matter. The conception of an aristocracy, hereditary, yet not involving the idea of blood, the members of which, in reflecting the lustre of the crown, did not lose their character as private citizens, is one of the ablest and most original in politics. And it was thoroughly successful: the institution became a strong support of the throne, yet the individuals composing it did not constitute a caste. Owing to the mode in which it was filled up, the persons receiving titles became a shifting representation of a nobility, but did not seem to become nobles: and thus the country remained thoroughly republican, while the empire had the benefit of aristocratic support.

A national nobility Napoleon held not to be contrary to equality; and he considered it necessary to the maintenance of social order, which can never be founded on

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agrarian laws. The establishment of property, and of its transmission by descent or devise, is a fundamental principle of society which does not militate against equality; and the usage of transmitting from father to son the remembrance of services rendered to the state, is strict analogy to this. Property may often be acquired by shameful and criminal means; but titles gained by public service must spring from a pure and honorable source, and their transmission to posterity is an act of justice. In establishing an hereditary national nobility, Napoleon had three principal objects in view: 1. To reconcile France with the rest of Europe; 2. To harmonize ancient with modern France; 3. To banish the remains of the feudal system, by attaching the idea of nobility to services rendered to the state, and discharging it from every feudal association. Europe at this time was governed by nobles who had strenuously opposed the progress of the French revolution: this was an obstacle which counteracted the influence of France upon the politics of the continent; and to remove it, it was necessary to invest the principal personages of the French empire with titles equal to those of other kingdoms. This scheme proved entirely successful: the aristocracy of Europe ceased to oppose France, and saw with pleasure a new nobility which, by the circumstance of being new, appeared to be inferior to their own; without foreseeing that the tendency of the French system was to depreciate and uproot the feudal nobility, or at least to compel it to renew its constitution on a new foundation. The effect of the institution in amalgamating the adherents of the Bourbons with the revolutionary classes, and consolidating the whole nation into one harmonious structure, was not less valua-

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ble. The legislation of the consulate restored the ancient nobility of France to their country and to part of their property, and they had resumed their titles, not legally, but actually. They regarded themselves, however, as more privileged than ever, because their order seemed incapable of increase, and there was no blending with the supporters of the revolution: but the creation of new titles wholly removed these difficulties; alliances took place readily; the new families were strengthened, and ancient and modern France brought into union. It was not without design that Napoleon bestowed the first title that he gave upon Marshal Lefebvre, who had been a private soldier, and whom everybody in Paris remembered as a sergeant in the French guards.

Napoleon's project was to recast, and establish upon new principles, the ancient nobility of the country. Every family which counted among its ancestors a cardinal, a great crown-officer, a minister, a marshal of France, &c., was to be entitled, thereby, to solicit from the council of seals the title of duke: every family which could show an archbishop, ambassador, first president, lieutenant-general, or vice-admiral, the title of count: every family that could produce a bishop, a major-general, rear-admiral, counsellor of state, or president *à mortier*, the title of baron. These titles would have been granted only upon the condition that the applicant for the rank of duke should settle upon the title a revenue of a hundred thousand francs; for that of court, thirty thousand; for that of baron, ten thousand. This rule was to apply to the past, the present and the future: and hence arose an historical nobility, connecting the past, present, and future, and constituted, not

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upon distinctions of blood, which create an imaginary nobility, since there is but one race of men, but upon services rendered to the state. As the son of a farmer might say, "I will one day be a cardinal, a marshal of France, or a minister," so he might say, "I will one day be a duke, count, or baron:" just as he might say, "I will engage in commerce, and accumulate so many millions, which I will leave to my children." A Montmorency would have been a duke, not because he was a Montmorency, but because one of his ancestors had been a constable and done service to the state. "This vast idea," says Napoleon, "altered the plan of the nobility, which had been merely feudal, and erected on its ruins an historical nobility, founded in the interests of the country, and on services rendered to the people and their sovereigns. This idea, like that of the legion of honor, was eminently liberal: it was calculated at once to confirm social order, and to annihilate the empty pride of nobility: it destroyed the pretensions of the oligarchy, and maintained the dignity and equality of man inviolate. It was an idea fertile in important results, and highly popular: it would have become a distinguishing feature of the new age."

The duration of Napoleon's power was not long enough to allow him fully to carry out these views; but the plan itself is so conspicuous a monument of Napoleon's political genius, and this institution of a nobility has been so much misunderstood and misrepresented, that this exposition of the subject was due to his character.

Another most important step, which was taken at an early period of the consulate, was the recall of the emigrants. A decree of the 26th of November, 1800,

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allowed the greater portion of the exiles to return; and an additional *senatus consultum* was passed, on the 29th of April, 1802, under which above a hundred thousand regained their native country, and not more than a few hundreds continued to be expatriated. Their property was restored to them as far as was practicable: estates that had passed into other hands could not be resumed; but such portions of forfeited lands as had not been alienated by the state, were given back to their former owners. A great and liberal system of public education was also established in 1802, and the foundation laid of those magnificent plans of general instruction which form one of Napoleon's greatest claims to renown. But the most remarkable and important of the steps taken by the first consul for the reconstruction of society, was the re-establishment of religion, and the reunion of France with the catholic system.

Napoleon himself, though a firm deist, was not a believer in the facts of the Christian religion: but he understood the full importance of religion as an element of modern civilization. He recognised spirituality as a fact in human nature — a permanent sensibility in character, which, however it might be disapproved of or despised, could not be eradicated. The only question for the statesman was, whether this should be allowed to run wild, or fall under the control of charlatans or enemies of the state, or whether its management should be organized into a system, and subjected to rational guidance, and made to act for the good of the community. "Everything proclaims the existence of a God," said Napoleon at St. Helena; "*that* can not be questioned: but all our religions are evidently the work of men. However, as soon as I had power, I

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immediately re-established religion. I made it the groundwork and foundation upon which I built. I considered it as the support of sound principles and good morality, in both doctrine and practice. Besides, such is the restlessness of man, that his mind requires *that something* undefined and marvellous which religion offers: and it is better for him to find it there, than to seek it of Cagliostro, of Madame Lenormand, and of the other soothsayers and impostors." Similar opinions were expressed by him in the council of state, when he proposed the re-establishment of the catholic religion. "Yesterday evening," said he, "when walking alone in the forest, amid the solitude of nature, the distant bell of the church of Ruel smote upon my ear. Involuntarily, I felt emotion; so strong are early habits and associations. I then said, If I feel in this way, what must be the impressions of simple and credulous people? Let your philosophers, your ideologues, answer that, if they can. It is absolutely indispensable to have a religion for the people; and not less so, that that religion should be directed by the government. The clergy exist, and ever will exist: they will exist as long as the people are imbued with a religious spirit; and that disposition is permanent in the human heart. We have seen republics and democracies — history has many instances of such governments to exhibit, but none of a state without an established worship, without religion, without priests. Is it not better to organize the public worship and discipline the priests, than to leave both entirely emancipated from the control of the government? At present, the clergy preach openly against the republic, because they derive no benefit from it. You can not extinguish their opinions: you must,

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therefore, attach them to the republic. At present, fifty bishops, in the pay of England, direct the French clergy. We must forthwith destroy their influence. We must declare the catholic religion to be the established religion of France, as being that of the majority of its inhabitants: we must organize its constitution. If the protestant faith is proclaimed, one half the country will adopt that creed, and the other half will remain catholic; and we shall have the Huguenot wars over again, and interminable divisions. The affair is entirely a political one, and the line I have adopted seems the safest that could be chosen. They will say I am a papist: I am no such thing. I was a Mohammedan in Egypt: I will be a catholic here, for the good of my people. I am no believer in particular creeds; but as to the idea of a God, look up to the heavens, and say who made that!" In compliance with these opinions and wishes, the concordat with the pope was negotiated on the 15th day of July, 1801, and, after considerable discussion, was ratified by large majorities in the legislature on the 8th of April, 1802. On the 11th, a grand celebration in honor of the event took place at Nôtre-Dame. Is there another instance on record, of a man whose own nature was insensible to religion, and who sternly rejected it from his bosom — whose intellectual sympathies were so delicate, and comprehensive, and true, that by mere force of mental appreciation, he could feel all the value of religion, and exert himself to afford to others the benefits of its influence? This man, indeed, was fit to be the emperor of a great nation.

All these institutions of Napoleon looked to the establishment and perpetuation of monarchical power in his person and family; and the approach to that result was

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certain, though gradual. On the 8th of May, 1802, a *senatus consultum* decreed the consulate to Napoleon for an additional ten years, after the period for which originally he had been appointed. A few months afterward it was decreed by the council of state, that the question should be referred to the people: "Shall Napoleon Bonaparte be consul for life?" This was voted upon in every commune in France, and the result, announced by a *senatus consultum* on the 2d August, 1802, showed that, according to the registers, out of nearly three millions six hundred thousand persons who voted, nearly three millions four hundred thousand were in favor of the consulate for life. What reliance, however, is to be placed upon these registers, it is impossible to determine: it is probable that they had not much relation to truth. A few days after, some important changes were made in the constitution: the tribunate, which had become somewhat refractory, was reduced from one hundred members to fifty; the legislative body was reduced to two hundred and fifty-eight members. Napoleon having found that the senate was capable of being used as a more obsequious and ready instrument of his power, had determined to increase its dignity and power at the expense of the other branches of the legislature. It was, accordingly, invested with the power of dissolving the legislative body and tribunate, of modifying the government at pleasure, and of declaring any department *hors de la constitution*. Soon after, desirous to perform a sovereign act, Napoleon went for the first time to preside in the senate, and the ceremony was conducted with all the parade of royalty. The military were ranged throughout the whole length of the space through which he was to

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pass. Within the gate of the Tuileries, they stood in a single line; but thence to the gate of the Luxembourg the ranks were doubled. Assuming for the first time a privilege which ancient etiquette had confined to the kings of France, Napoleon rode in a carriage drawn by eight horses. He was met and received by ten senators at the foot of the staircase of the Luxembourg.

But considerations of personal ambition could never absorb a spirit and mind so capacious and exalted as those of Napoleon. During all this time, his attention and time were laboriously given to the great work which made him the benefactor of France and of the world, and which stands an everlasting monument of his glory. The very moment that he was elevated to the consulate, and while he was yet at the Luxembourg, he began the compilation of a new code of laws, to displace the incomplete revolutionary system, and to remove the confusion that prevailed in the legislation. The ablest lawyers were called upon to co-operate in this undertaking, and when it was completed, a committee, composed of Tronchet, Portalis, Merlin de Douai, with Cambaceres at their head, was appointed to submit the code to the council of state. The discussions in the council of state began in March, 1802: Napoleon was always present, and the council, instead of assembling, as usual, three times a week, assembled daily; and the sittings, which on ordinary occasions lasted only two or three hours, were often prolonged to five or six. Napoleon took so much interest in these subjects, that to have an opportunity of conversing on them in the evening, he frequently invited several members of the council to dine with him. "It was during these con-

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versations," says Bourrienne, "that I most admired the inconceivable versatility of Bonaparte's genius, or, rather, that superior instinct which enabled him to comprehend at a glance, and in their proper point of view, legal questions to which he might have been supposed a stranger. Possessing, as he did in a supreme degree, the knowledge of mankind, ideas important to the science of legislation, flashed upon his mind like sudden inspiration."

The minutes of the council of state, drawn up by Lebrun, preserve the substance of the *extempore* speeches of Napoleon upon the different articles of the code. Nothing has placed the reputation of Napoleon, for penetration and wisdom, upon such a lofty basis, as the deep views, the liberal and just sentiments, the great conceptions of sound reason and right feeling, which his remarks, there recorded, display. He himself, with great candor, ascribed all the merit to Tronchet. Tronchet, he remarked, was the soul of this code; and he its demonstrator. Tronchet, he said, was gifted with a singularly profound and correct understanding; but he could not descend to developments: he spoke badly, and could not defend what he proposed. The whole council would at first oppose his suggestions; but the first consul, with his shrewdness and facility of seizing and creating luminous and new relations, would rise, and without any other knowledge of the subject than the correct basis furnished by Tronchet, would develop his ideas, set aside objections, and bring every one over to his opinions.

The beginning of 1804 was distinguished by an occurrence which, more than every other act of his life, contributed to render Napoleon odious to foreign na-

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tions and to render his character abhorrent in England. In the beginning of February, Fouché gave information of a conspiracy of the most formidable kind, which involved some of the most eminent characters in the republic, and had for its object the overthrow of the government and the destruction of the first consul. Moreau, Pichegru, Georges, and the Duc d'Enghien, were arrested as leaders of this plot. It would be foreign to our plan to enter into the details of a subject so little connected with the military character of Napoleon; and it is sufficient merely to note that the duke, after a military trial, was condemned and executed at Vincennes on the 20th of March, 1804. Pichegru destroyed himself in prison on the night of the 5th of April; Georges and some others were tried and executed; and Moreau, being condemned by the court to two years imprisonment, received permission from the first consul to retire to America. It was not long after these occurrences, that Napoleon determined upon assuming the imperial crown.

The truth is, that the vigorous measures which Napoleon had adopted for the extinguishment of the Jacobins, and the immense impulse which he had impressed upon the government toward the restoration of old institutions, had a little disturbed the equilibrium of his system, and given a dangerous encouragement to the hopes of the Bourbonists. As soon as Napoleon had begun his great work of restitution in the state, it was confidently supposed by the adherents of the exiled king, that he was preparing to deliver the government over to its former proprietors. On the 20th of February, 1800, Louis XVIII. addressed to him an autograph note, as follows: "Sir: Whatever may be your

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apparent conduct, men, such as you, never inspire alarm. You have accepted an eminent station, and I thank you for having done so. You know better than all others how much strength and power is requisite to secure the happiness of a great nation. Rescue France from her own violence, and you will fulfil the first wish of my heart. Restore her king to her, and future generations will bless your memory. You will always be too necessary to the state for me to discharge, by important appointments, the debt of my family and myself. LOUIS."

Napoleon was much agitated by the receipt of this letter; but he declared his determination to have nothing to do with the exiles: "The partisans of the Bourbons," said he, "are deceived, if they suppose that I am a man to play the part of Monck."

The king's letter remained unanswered, and in the meantime a second letter, without a date, was received. It was as follows: "You must long since have been convinced, general, that you possess my esteem. If you are doubtful of my gratitude, fix your reward, and mark out the fortunes of your friends. As to my principles, I am a Frenchman, merciful by character, and also by the dictates of reason. No, the conqueror of Lodi, Castiglione, and Arcole, the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, can not prefer vain celebrity to real glory. But you are losing precious time. We may insure the glory of France. I say *we*, because I require the aid of Bonaparte, and he can do nothing without me. General, Europe observes you. Glory awaits you, and I am impatient to restore peace to my people. — LOUIS."

Napoleon allowed seven months to pass after the receipt of the first letter, and then, on the 14th of Sep-

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tember, 1800, wrote the following reply: "Sir, I have received your letters, and I thank you for the compliments you address to me. You must not seek to return to France. To do so, you must trample over a hundred thousand dead bodies. Sacrifice your interest to the repose and happiness of France, and history will render you justice. I am not insensible to the misfortunes of your family; and I shall learn with pleasure that you are surrounded with all that can contribute to the tranquillity of your retirement. — BONAPARTE."

The intrigues of the followers of Louis, however, went on with active industry. A royalist committee was established at Paris, consisting of men of the first character and influence, such as M. Royer Collard, the abbé de Montesquieu, and the marquis of Clermont. They professed rational and liberal principles of government, and their desire was to restore the old dynasty under sufficient guaranties of a constitutional administration. Many of Napoleon's friends were desirous for his own sake that he should restore the Bourbons. Josephine herself, dreading the calamity which afterward overtook her, was especially anxious that he should take that step. Everything seemed to indicate that the peril which had once assailed his power from the side of the Jacobins was transferred to the antagonist quarter. At this time the conspiracy of Georges was revealed, and the Duc d'Enghien fell into Napoleon's hands. Alarmed by the danger of the crisis, and enraged at the ingratitude of those upon whom he had conferred such benefits, Napoleon resolved to extinguish for ever all hope of conciliation with the Bourbons, and separate them from him by a channel of blood. Still further to eradicate all hopes of a volun-

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tary resignation of his sovereignty, and to place his power upon the highest and broadest basis, he resolved to invest himself with the full and complete character, functions, and *prestige*, of royalty.

THE EMPIRE.

In the consulate for twenty years, and the consulate for life—

> "Two truths were told
> As happy prologues to the swelling act
> Of the imperial theme."

It was ushered in with the preparations of a dramatic illusion. As the first steps, the agents of the government procured a host of addresses and congratulations to be sent in on the occasion of Napoleon's escape from the conspiracy of Georges; and most of these, with their felicitations, combined an entreaty that the savior of the nation would *consolidate his work*. The obsequious senate then took up the subject, and with similar insinuation begged him to complete his glorious undertaking. The army sent in addresses, in emphatic language, which could not be mistaken. Personal memorials from the colonels and generals poured in: and the camps of Montreuil, Ostend, and St. Omer, assembled respectively, agreed upon addresses the most earnest and enthusiastic. As these had a great effect upon the national sentiment, the memorial sent up on the 29th of April, 1804, from the corps d'armée under the command of Ney is here inserted:—

"The general-in-chief, generals, officers, and soldiers, of the camp of Montreuil, to the first consul: The French monarchy has crumbled to pieces under

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the weight of fourteen centuries; the noise of its fall has alarmed the world, and shaken all the thrones of Europe. France, abandoned to a total overthrow, has, during ten years of desolation, undergone all the evils that could desolate a nation. You have appeared, citizen-general, radiant with genius and glory, and immediately the storms have blown away. Victory has placed you at the helm of government: justice and peace are seated by your side.

"The recollection of our misfortunes was beginning to be effaced, and all the feelings of the French people were about to merge in that of gratitude alone, when a dreadful event has shown them the new dangers which they are about to encounter. Your life, defended in vain by thirty millions of men, has been attempted: and a single blow of a poniard would have thrown back the destinies of a great people, and renewed among them the dreadful excesses of ambition and anarchy. So appalling a prospect has dispelled every illusion; and the minds of all are divided between horror of the past and dread for the future. France, with all its greatness and power, seeing that it might lose all in a single day, has been struck with consternation. It is now like a colossus with feet of clay. The time has arrived for putting an end to such a state of anxiety, by making our powerful institutions secure for us a lasting prosperity. The same cry is heard from every part of France: be not, therefore, insensible to this expression of the national will.

"Accept, general-consul, the imperial crown offered to you by thirty millions of people. Charlemagne, the greatest of our ancient kings, obtained his from the hands of Victory: do you, with still more glorious claims

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than his, accept yours from the hands of Gratitude. Let it be transmitted to your descendants, and may your virtues be perpetuated on the earth with your name! As for us, general-consul, full of love for our country, and of attachment to your person, we devote our lives to the defence of both."

The subject had been discussed at a secret sitting of the council of state as early as the middle of April. The project was warmly opposed by Berlier and some others, who, however, formed the minority; and, to avoid a party division, Napoleon requested that each member should send him his opinion in writing, with his signature affixed. Of twenty-seven present, seven were in opposition. Napoleon received them all graciously; told them that he wished hereditary power only for the benefit of France, and said that the citizens would never be *his subjects*, nor the French *his people*. Soon after, the minority, finding that opposition was useless, and might be hurtful, determined to join the majority.

The first formal movement on the subject was arranged to proceed from the tribunate, the most popular body in the constitution: and at the sitting of the 30th of April, the tribune Curée had the honor to be the first officially to propose the conversion of the consulate into an empire. He concluded an elaborate harangue by moving that "we convey to the senate a wish which is cherished by the whole nation, and which has for its object, first, that Napoleon Bonaparte, now first consul, be declared emperor; second, that the imperial dignity be declared hereditary in his family; and third, that those of our institutions which are as yet only traced out, be definitively determined." The

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speeches which followed were a succession of eulogies; and the motion was adopted. The imperial title was one which was particularly suited to the views of Napoleon: "One may be the emperor of a republic, but not the king of a republic," he often said; "those two terms are incongruous." Soon after, the senate proceeded in a body to present an address to the chief of the government; and after further arrangements and negotiations, on the 18th of May, Napoleon was decreed to be EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

On the same day, Cambaceres, at the head of the senate, went to present to him the *senatus consultum;* and was the first who greeted him with the appellation of *sire* and *your majesty*. In accepting the dignity, the emperor said, "I hope that France will never repent of the honors which she may confer on my family: at all events, my spirit will not be with my posterity when they cease to deserve the confidence and love of the great nation." The emperor's first act was the appointment of Joseph to the dignity of grand elector, with the title of imperial highness. Louis was created constable, with the same title; and Cambaceres and Lebrun were made arch-chancellor and arch-treasurer of the empire. On the next day, Napoleon held a grand levée at the Tuileries, where all the etiquette and ceremony of the old monarchy were fully revived. The assemblage was crowded and brilliant: all the generals and colonels in Paris were presented by Louis; and Napoleon, who always took care that the support of his cause by the army should be obtruded upon popular attention on all great crises, was gratified to receive an address from the guards, presented by Bessières, to which he replied with cordial satisfaction.

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On the same day, the first marshals of the empire — eighteen in number — were created.

On Sunday, the 15th of July, the emperor appeared in public before the Parisians in all the pomp of majesty, on the occasion of receiving at the Hotel des Invalides, from the members of the legion, the new oath of fidelity prescribed by the imperial constitution. Preceded by the carriages in the train of the empress, and surrounded by his marshals, the emperor came on horseback across the garden of the Tuileries, and was received with pomp by the governor of the Invalides. He ascended the imperial throne on the right of the altar, and the empress occupied a seat opposite to him. After the religious ceremony was over, M. de Lacépède, grand chancellor of the legion of honor, pronounced a flattering discourse, and calling the list of the grand officers of the legion, Napoleon, covered, after the manner of the old kings of France when they held a bed of justice, administered the oath amid the profound silence of the assembly.

On the same day, the emperor announced his intention of visiting the camp at Boulogne, to distribute the imperial decorations of the legion to the army. On the 18th, he set off from St. Cloud, and travelled with such rapidity, that on the following morning, while every one was busy with preparations for his reception, he was already at that port, in the midst of the laborers, examining the works. The soldiers of the camps of Montreuil and St. Omer were concentrated at Boulogne, and eighty thousand men under the command of Soult were assembled to witness the distribution of the crosses and the administration of the oath. In the centre of a large circular plain, which descended by a

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gentle slope to the cliff, a throne was erected, from which all the columns formed by the different corps diverged. The infantry was spread out in the shape of a fan; the cavalry formed a semicircle in the rear; and further back were the inhabitants of the country, whom curiosity had brought to the spot. The scene formed a vast natural amphitheatre, from every part of which the English coast was distinctly perceptible. At length the thunder of the artillery announced the emperor; and the whole assembly became silent and motionless in an instant. In another moment he appeared with his staff, at the spot where the throne had been constructed: a spontaneous shout rent the air, and then a profound stillness ensued. Napoleon ascended the throne, and, standing, pronounced to the new members of the legion of honor, assembled at the head of each demi-brigade, the oath which had been administered at the Invalides, as follows: "You severally swear, upon your honor, to devote yourselves to the service of the republic, to the preservation of the integrity of the French territory, to the defence of the emperor, of the laws of the republic, and the property which it has rendered sacred; to combat by every means which reason, justice, and law, allow, all attempts to re-establish the feudal regime; in short, you swear to co-operate with all your might in the maintenance of liberty and equality: do you swear it?" This oath was taken with enthusiasm; and the emperor continued: "You, soldiers, severally swear to defend at the peril of your lives the honor of the French name, your country, and the institutions and laws by which it is governed?"— "We swear it!" cried the soldiers with one voice. Tumultuous and protracted applause followed, and the

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troops filed off. The remainder of the day was spent in sports and dancing, and in the evening a magnificent display of fireworks took place. An immense mass of rockets rose in a luminous column, which was visible from the English coast; and afterward, fifteen thousand men, formed in line of battle at the top of the cliff, kept up a running fire with starred cartridges.

Napoleon continued his journey through Belgium and the Rhenish towns, and did not return to St. Cloud until October, having been absent about three months. As soon as the imperial title had been decreed, Caffarelli had been sent on a mission to Rome, to induce the pope, Pius VII., to come to Paris to consecrate the emperor at his coronation. Napoleon heard of the successful result of this embassy while on his journey; and immediately upon his return, preparations for that important event were carried forward with great diligence. He gave orders to treat the pope with the utmost respect and distinction as he journeyed through the French territory, and went himself to Fontainebleau to receive him. To avoid ceremony, the emperor arranged it so as to be on the road between Fontainebleau and Nemours when the pope came up. Both descended and embraced, and then got into the opposite doors of the same carriage at the same moment, and rode to Fontainebleau, where they breakfasted together; and then the pope set out first for Paris. His presence there produced an extraordinary sensation, not only in that capital, but throughout Europe. His good sense and dignified calmness of demeanor commended him to general respect. One day, visiting the imperial printing-office, where a pamphlet containing the Lord's prayer in a great many different languages was struck

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off in his presence, a low-bred young fellow kept his hat on while he was in the room. Some persons advancing to rebuke this indecorum, a confusion arose when the pope turned to the young man and said, "My son, uncover, that I may give thee my blessing. An old man's blessing never yet harmed any one."

The pope arrived at Paris on the 28th of November, and two days after, on the 1st of December, the senate presented to the emperor the result of the votes of the people of France upon the question of the hereditary succession in his family: for as it was assumed that the title of emperor was acceptable and beneficial to the country, that was the only question which had been submitted to vote. Registers had been opened throughout the one hundred and eight departments of which France consisted: and the reported result was, that, out of nearly three millions, six hundred thousand voters, only two thousand five hundred and sixty-nine voted against hereditary succession. On the 2d of December, the coronation took place at Nôtre-Dame, with a splendor too well known to require to be here described. On the next day, all the troops in the capital were assembled in the Champ de Mars, to receive the imperial eagles instead of the national flags. A throne was erected, on which Napoleon sat, and, at a given signal, all the troops closed and approached it. The emperor then rose, and giving orders for the distribution of the eagles, said: "Soldiers, behold your colors! These eagles will always be your rallying point. They will always be where your emperor may think them necessary for the defence of his throne and his people. Swear to sacrifice your lives to defend them, and, by your valor, to keep them constantly in

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the path of victory! Swear!" Enthusiastic and unbounded acclamations followed this address.

On the 1st of April, Napoleon left Paris to take possession of the iron crown at Milan; to convert the cisalpine republic into the kingdom of Italy, and celebrate his succession to the throne and glory of Charlemagne. He stopped some time at Turin, and still longer at Alessandria, where many vast and expensive works were ordered to be commenced. He then visited the field of Marengo, and there reviewed all the French troops that were in Italy; and appeared on the occasion in the same dress and hat which he had worn on the day of that battle, having taken them with him from Paris for the purpose. He then proceeded to Milan, where he met with a brilliant reception, and occupied the palace of Monza. On the 26th of May, 1805, the new coronation took place in the cathedral of Milan, next to St. Peter's the largest in Italy. The old iron crown which Charlemagne had taken ten centuries before from the king of the Lombards was brought from the dust in which it was buried. Napoleon, taking it from the hands of the archbishop of Milan, placed it on his own exclaiming, "Dieu me l'a donnée, gare à qui la touche." The order of the iron crown was founded in commemoration of his being crowned king of Italy, and this became its motto.

During this visit, M. Durazzo, the last doge of Genoa, presented a request, in the name of the republic, to the emperor, that Genoa might be permitted to exchange her independence for the honor of becoming one of the departments of France. This, which had all been contrived beforehand, was of course accepted, and Genoa, once called the Superb, became the prin-

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cipal station of the twenty-seventh military division of France. The emperor made his entry into the city on the 30th of June, and slept in the Doria palace, in the bed where Charles V. had lain. About the same time, Parma and Placentia were incorporated with the French empire, as the twenty-eighth military division; and the republic of Lucca was extinguished, and settled as an endowment upon his sister Eliza. Thus had Napoleon become master of a large part of Italy.

About the end of June, the emperor returned to Paris, and immediately set off for the camp at Boulogne. His great political designs were accomplished, and the farthest limit of civil ambition reached; the attractions of magnificence, display, and ceremonial pageantry, had been exhausted: the keen passions and restless intellect of Napoleon again demanded war; and war upon the most splendid scale that the world had ever exhibited it awaited his wishes. It was time, indeed, to give attention to military considerations: for, one after another, the great kingdoms of the north, guided by the sleepless policy of England, and sustained by her exhaustless wealth, had been coming into the line of hostility, until almost the whole continent was in arms to oppose him. The object of his own preparations on the coast had undoubtedly been the invasion of England: when that became impracticable, from the successes of the English fleet at sea, and the enmity of Austria and Russia had become alarming, Napoleon, by one of those original, brilliant, profound, and admirable conceptions, which invest his genius with a glory so transcendent, determined suddenly to launch his whole mighty force upon these two kingdoms; and Ulm and Austerlitz were the results of this concep-

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tion. For the splendor of its design, the perfection of its execution, and the immensity of its military results, the campaign of Austerlitz is without a parallel in the history of the world. Napoleon left Paris to join the army on the 24th of September, 1805, and returned to the capital on the 26th of January, 1806; a period of four months, into which is crowded as much interest and splendor as might be spread over four centuries of ordinary history. This beautiful campaign may be read at large in the memoir upon the life of Soult.

Soon after his return the city of Paris voted to the emperor and his army the memorial column in the Place Vendôme. Five hundred Austrian cannon taken in the late campaign were melted up and cast into representations of the most distinguished occurrences of the campaign, and arranged around the column after the manner of the bas-reliefs on Trajan's pillar. The height was one hundred and twenty feet; and the column was surmounted by a statue of Napoleon, which the emperor Alexander carried off to St. Petersburg, as a trophy of the revenge of 1815. It has been replaced by a bronze figure of Napoleon in his well-known military great-coat.

Warlike glory and the trophies of the field were never sufficient to fill the vast capacities of Napoleon's mind: he always hastened to realize the political results which were placed within his reach by the glorious achievements in arms with which he dazzled the world. Those immense military conceptions, which expanded beyond the minds and even the imaginations of others, were but the foundation, the basis, the substructure, upon which was founded the stupendous architecture of his civil designs. Where others' thoughts

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stopped, his ambition began. The creation and disposition of kingdoms and principalities occupied his thoughts during the spring and summer of 1806. On the 30th of March, a decree by the emperor announced that "the interests of our crown, and the tranquillity of the continent of Europe, require that we should settle, in a safe and permanent manner, the fate of the people of Naples and Sicily, placed in our hands by the right of conquest, and forming a part of the great empire; we, therefore, declare our well-beloved brother, Joseph, king of the Two Sicilies." At the same time, the princess Eliza was created duchess of Lucca Piombino; Pauline, married, for the second time, to the prince Borghese, was made duchess of Guastalla; the Venetian states were annexed to the kingdom of Italy; and twelve duchies were reserved to the emperor, out of the Neapolitan territory and other parts of Italy, to be bestowed upon his favorite officers. At this period, also, Murat was created grand-duke of Cleves and Berg, ceded to France by Bavaria; Bernadotte, prince of Ponte-Corvo; Talleyrand, prince of Benevento; Berthier, prince of Neufchatel; and Cambareces and Lebrun, dukes of Parma and Placenza. On the 5th of June, a treaty was made with Holland, by which, in accordance with a request made by a deputation from that country, of persons wholly in his interest, Louis Bonaparte was declared king of Holland. But the most important of all these transactions was the establishment of the confederation of the Rhine. By the act of confederation, which was signed at Paris on the 12th of July, the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the electorate of Baden, the landgravate of Hesse Darmstadt, the grand-duchy of Berg, and several small principalities.

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were declared to be severed for ever from the Germanic empire, and made independent sovereignties, under the protection of the emperor of the French: hostility against any one member, including France, was to be deemed a declaration of war against all, and military contingents were to be furnished. By this arrangement, Napoleon in effect became emperor of Germany; and the emperor Francis was obliged to signalize his removal from the throne of the Cesars by a declaration of renunciation: "Being convinced," he said, in an address to the diet at Ratisbon, "of the impracticability of discharging any longer the duties which the imperial throne imposed upon us, we owe it to our dignity and virtue to abdicate a crown, which ceases to be desirable to us when we are no longer able to perform its duties and retain the confidences of the elector-princes of the empire: considering the bonds which unite us to the empire as dissolved by the confederation of the Rhine, we therefore renounce the imperial crown, and hereby absolve the electors, &c., from the duties which unite them to us as their legal chief." All this seemed to mark out Prussia for the next great victim; and that kingdom, long resting in a strange apathy and indifference, while the rest of Europe was convulsed by overthrow or alarm, now suddenly awoke to a sense of its situation, and by its rashness precipitated its destruction. The summer and autumn of 1806 were occupied in abortive negotiations between France, England, and Russia: and then the dispute narrowed into a deep and deadly controversy between France and Prussia; and the other powers of Europe stood aside to wait the issue of the combat, in which the successors of Frederic stood up to do battle for the liberties of Europe. On

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the 25th of September, 1806, Napoleon set out for the Rhine, and in October delivered that tremendous blow by which the Prussian monarchy was shattered, as if it had been a structure of porcelain. These great campaigns of 1806 and 1807, in Prussia and in Poland, in which, trampling the central parts of Europe under foot, the north and the south rushed together with a shock which caused both to reel and pause, will be found in detail, up to the conference at Tilsit, in the life of Marshal Davoust.

During the armistice which succeeded the battle of Friedland, in June, 1807, the Russian and French armies were on the opposite sides of the Niemen: the headquarters of Napoleon being at Tilsit, on the left bank, and those of Alexander at Pictuponen, at a short distance from the right bank. On the 25th of June, the celebrated interview between the emperors, upon the Niemen, took place in the presence of both armies.

Precisely in the middle of the river, a large raft was floated, upon which was constructed a large room, covered and elegantly decorated, having a door on each side, opening into an antechamber. The work was done with as much neatness and beauty as could have been exhibited in Paris. Two weather-cocks were on the roof, one displaying the eagle of Russia and the other the eagle of France; and the outer doors, which faced the opposite banks, were adorned with the eagles of the respective empires. The two monarchs embarked at the same moment; but Napoleon, having a boat manned by marines of the guard, who rowed well, arrived first on the raft, entered the room, opened the opposite door, and placed himself on the edge of the raft to receive Alexander, whose oarsmen were not

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quite as skilful. The emperors met in the most friendly way, remained in conversation about two hours. The conference being ended, the persons composing the suites of the two emperors were introduced: Murat, Berthier, Bessières, Duroc, and Caulaincourt, on the part of Napoleon, and the grand-duke Constantine, Generals Benningzen and Ouwaroff, Prince Labanoff, and Count Lieven, on the part of Alexander. The emperor of Russia paid the handsomest compliments to the officers who accompanied Napoleon; and the latter had a long conversation with the grand-duke Constantine and General Benningzen. The interview having terminated, the two emperors embarked each in his boat. Soon after, the headquarters of Alexander were established in Tilsit; and the emperors passed several days in friendly and familiar intercourse.

On the 7th and 9th of July, 1807, were signed treaties of peace between Russia and France and between Prussia and France. By virtue of these, Silesia and the provinces north of the Elbe were left to Prussia; the Polish provinces on the Vistula were erected into the grand-duchy of Warsaw, and given to the king of Saxony; the kingdom of Westphalia was created out of the Prussian provinces south of the Elbe, and the states of Hesse-Cassel, Paderborn, Fulde, Brunswick, and part of the electorate of Hanover, and given to Jerome Bonaparte; and all the kings and princes established by Napoleon were acknowledged by Russia and Prussia. Napoleon returned to Paris on the 27th of July, and was received with a homage and worship which exceeded everything that he had experienced before. Addresses, scarcely less than blasphemous, poured in from all classes of state officers; and a uni-

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versal delirium seemed to have seized the nation. The friendship of the emperor Alexander, which was magnified beyond its just bounds, and the peace which had been established in Europe, gave Napoleon a moral influence in public opinion which he had never till then possessed. He used it to consolidate his empire into a complete despotism. On the 16th of August, the tribunate, the only vestige of a free institution in France, was suppressed by the emperor's sole authority; not only without objection on the part of its members, but with their enthusiastic approbation. Toward the close of September a censorship of the press was established, and no book or journal allowed to be printed without the censors' license. In the following month, the independence of the judiciary was annihilated; and all judges made removable at the will of the emperor. And on the 11th of March, 1808, a *senatus consultum* decreed the re-establishment of hereditary titles of honor — princes, dukes, counts, barons, and knights. Foreign titles, connected with estates or endowments in other countries, had been conferred on the marshals and others the year before; but by this decree, the aristocratic rank was revived as a part of the domestic constitution of France. In short, after the treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon presents himself to our view as a fearless, absolute, arbitrary autocrat. Yet, if he made his own mind and will the law of France, they were exerted upon a great scale and for great objects; and a system of wise legislation, and the reconstruction of the university upon an enlightened plan, were contemporary with these assumptions of despotic authority.

The character of Napoleon at this period darkens into a portrait of rapacious and unscrupulous usurpa-

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tion; and to this era belongs the commencement of his fatal relations with Spain. Taking advantage of the family dissension of Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand, and fomenting the domestic difficulties of the nation by artful intrigue, Napoleon obtained from the king, on the 5th of May, 1808, an absolute surrender and transfer of the crown of Spain; and having convoked an assembly of notables at Bayonne, in June, he there, on the 8th, proclaimed his brother Joseph king of Spain and the Indies. In the November following, Murat succeeded Joseph on the throne of Naples. Having arranged the constitution of Spain, Napoleon returned to Paris, from Bayonne, on the 14th of August. Soon after he set out for Erfurth, to hold an interview with Alexander, which had been appointed at Tilsit. On the 27th of September, they met on the road between Weimar and Erfurth, and entering the latter, they remained there in friendly intercourse until the 6th of October. It was a scene such as Europe had not witnessed for centuries: the king of Prussia and the emperor of Austria were not present, but a crowd of smaller princes swelled the pageant of the imperial conference. The mornings were spent by Napoleon and Alexander in conferences upon political subjects; the afternoons, in reviews or other displays; and in the evening they occupied the same box at the theatre, where Talma and other performers represented the masterpieces of Corneille and Racine. On the 6th, the emperors visited the grand-duke of Weimar, and Napoleon conversed with Göethe, Wieland, and other eminent literary persons. On the 7th, they rode over the field of Jena; and on the 14th, returning to the spot where they had first met, they dismounted from

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their horses, continued walking together for some time in earnest conversation, and then embracing, bade one another adieu for ever. Napoleon returned to Paris, and soon after set out for Bayonne, which he reached on the 3d of November, and at once began to direct the movements of his armies.

On the 1st of January, 1809, while he was driving Sir John Moore back toward Corunna, and was on the road between Benevente and Astorga, despatches were brought to him by a courier from Paris. He immediately dismounted, ordered a fire to be kindled by the wayside, and, in the midst of a snowstorm, sat down to examine the intelligence which was brought. It was of the most alarming kind, and required Napoleon's instant presence in the north; for it announced the hostile attitude of Austria, and her preparation to take the field with a formidable army. Napoleon returned to Astorga, where he remained two days, writing and dictating innumerable despatches. He set off for Valladolid, where he remained three days, and then journeying through Burgos and Bayonne with almost incredible speed, arrived at Paris on the 23d. The negotiations of the following month developed a direct issue of arms between France and Austria, in which Russia and Prussia were to remain neutral. In the beginning of March the French forces, under Davoust, Massena, Oudinot, Bessières, and Bernadotte, were rapidly concentrated in Bavaria, under the command of Berthier. On the 8th of April, the Austrian army commenced hostilities by a general advance; and Berthier having committed nothing but blunders and absurdities, Napoleon found that his own presence with his troops was indispensable. He left Paris on the

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13th of April, and on the 17th arrived at Donauwert. The campaign that followed—the campaign of Eckmuhl, Aspern, and Wagram—will be found described in the lives of Lannes and Massena. Napoleon returned to Fontainebleau in the end of October, and thence proceeded to Paris.

The successful result of Wagram produced one momentous consequence, in the marriage of Napoleon with Maria Louisa. The project first occurred to him at Schöenbrunn, and it was announced to Josephine at Fontainebleau on the 30th of November. On the 15th of December, the marriage of Napoleon and Josephine was dissolved by the senate; and the latter retired to Malmaison with a jointure of two millions of francs. Napoleon opened negotiations, in the first instance, with Alexander, for the hand of his sister; but that subject being at the disposal of Alexander's mother, and some of her stipulations not being entirely acceptable to Napoleon, he broke the negotiation off, and made proposals for the hand of Maria Louisa, which were eagerly accepted. On the 11th of March, 1810, the marriage was celebrated by proxy at Vienna; and Napoleon met his youthful bride at Compeigne on the 28th of March, and on the 1st of April the formal marriage was solemnized with extraordinary pomp at Paris. In the following month the emperor and empress visited Belgium, and viewed the extraordinary works at Antwerp, Flushing, and Middleburg, and returned to Paris on the 1st of June. One result of this visit was the resolution to annex Holland to the French empire. The treatment imposed upon Louis to bring this about soon had its desired effect. On the 1st of July, unable any longer to submit to the exactions required by

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his brother, Louis executed a deed of resignation in favor of his son Napoleon Louis; and on the 9th of July, a decree from Paris appeared, annexing the whole kingdom of Holland to France.

The pope, who had fatally compromised his dignity by visiting Paris to give his benediction to the self-crowned emperor of the Revolution, was destined now to feel the weight of that sceptre to which his presence had given so much moral force. From 1805, a series of encroachments had been going on against the papal states, which brought the head of the church into open hostility with the emperor. On the 17th of May, 1809, a decree, dated at Schöenbrunn, announced the union of the states of the church to the French empire, and Rome was made a free and imperial city. These arrangements were accordingly carried into effect in the month of June following. The pope replied by a bull of excommunication. Napoleon now resolved, not to destroy the power of the papacy, but to transfer its incumbent to the neighborhood of Paris, where he might be entirely under his control. On the 5th of July, therefore, the pope was arrested by General Radet, hurried across the Alps to Grenoble, and thence sent to Savona, where he remained three years a prisoner. In 1813 he was removed to Fontainebleau, and there detained until the disaster of Leipsig compelled Napoleon to set him at liberty.

The month of September, 1810, was remarkable for the election of Bernadotte to the throne of Sweden, an event attended with memorable effects upon the fate of Napoleon. The encroachments of the latter meanwhile proceeded with unabated rapacity. On the 13th of December, appeared a *senatus consultum*, annexing

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to the French empire the Hanse towns and the duchy of Oldenburg, and extending the French dominions as far as Lubeck. As the grand-duke of Oldenburg was the brother-in-law of Alexander, this enormous spoliation kindled the utmost excitement at St. Petersburg, and raised in the mind of Alexander the most serious alarm lest the kingdom of Poland should be re-established by the conqueror, who had already raised into existence the unwelcome sovereignty of the grand-duchy of Warsaw. Negotiations on the subject were opened, the result of which was entirely unsatisfactory to Russia, and led to her increasing her forces in Poland. Alexander retaliated for the territorial aggressions of Napoleon by publishing, on the last day of 1810, an imperial commercial ukase, altogether opposed to the French policy, and highly favorable to English commerce. A diplomatic note was formally presented by Russia to all the European courts, complaining of the annexation of the duchy of Oldenburg. On the 14th of July, 1810, Napoleon gave another illustration of his despotic temper by resuming and annexing the kingdom of Hanover, which he had given to his brother the king of Westphalia.

On the 20th of March, 1811, the king of Rome was born, amid the unbounded joy of Paris and France. During that year everything was preparing for a vast and terrible encounter between the two greatest continental powers of Europe. Napoleon, according to his custom of dividing his enemies and dealing with them separately, formed a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Prussia, on the 24th of February, 1812, and with Austria on the 14th of March. On the other hand, Russia and Sweden entered into a treaty of mutual

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guaranty and defence on the 5th of April, 1812; and on the 12th of July, a treaty was concluded between England and Sweden. Thus one half of Europe was arrayed against the other half, under the hostile banners of the emperors who had twice edified the world by the display of their fraternal confidence and affection. The negotiations between the two great empires, which went on till the last moment, developed no cause sufficient for the war, if the ambition of Napoleon had not been determined upon it. Russia complained of the annexation of the grand-duchy of Oldenburg and the Hanse towns to the French empire, the invasion of Pomerania, and the immense accumulation of troops in Poland. Napoleon objected to the ukase of December 31, 1810, and the augmentation and advance of the Russian armies. Alexander finally offered to dismiss his forces, if France would evacuate Prussia and Pomerania, and reduce the garrison of Dantzig. To this no answer was given by Napoleon; and the war began. In the end of April Alexander reached Wilna, and about the middle of May Napoleon left Paris for Dresden.

Then and afterward Napoleon was in the habit of assigning a variety of political reasons for this stupendous undertaking, but he is supposed by Segur to have assigned the true cause to the princes of his own family. "Can you not see," said he to them, "that as I was not born upon a throne, I must support myself on it, as I ascended it, by my renown?—that it is necessary for it to go on increasing; that a private individual, become a sovereign, like myself, can no longer stop; that he must be continually ascending, and that to be stationary is to be lost?" In the abstract opin-

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ion embodied in this remark there is undoubtedly some reason; but in its application to the situation of Napoleon in 1811 and 1812, there is not a particle of truth or justice. If the campaign of Austerlitz in 1805, of Jena and Friedland in 1806 and 1807, and that of Wagram in 1809, followed by the immense political changes which they occasioned, could not give Napoleon moral influence enough in France to sustain his throne, neither would the subjection of all Russia and all Asia beyond it have sufficed. The causes of the expedition to the north are to be found only in the restless energies of Napoleon's mind, which could not exist without the excitement of vast and boundless enterprises — in that insatiable hunger of glory which craved nothing less than the universal dominion of Philip's son — in the fierce jealousy of a despot who could bear no equal and no rival in Europe, and who drew impatient breath until he had humbled Alexander as he had Francis, the pope, and every other sovereign on the continent.

The history of the Russian campaign — which was a disaster as enormous as all the successes of his previous life combined — may be read in the lives of Murat, Mortier, and Ney, in this work, to whose biographies have been assigned respectively the advance to Moscow, the stay there, and the retreat. Napoleon arrived at the Tuileries from Russia on the night of the 18th–19th of December, 1812. His return had been precipitated by the intelligence which he had received at Smolensk of Mallet's conspiracy, which took place on the same day that he left Moscow, namely, the 19th of October. By a plausible story of Napoleon's death, and by a forged decree of the senate abolishing

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the imperial government and appointing him governor of Paris, this madman, escaping from his prison, had usurped the command of the city, arrested the minister and prefect of police, and for some hours was master of France. Napoleon was astounded at the risk which he had run in separating himself by such a distance from his capital, and at the insecurity of his dynasty, which this occurrence testified. "Is, then," he exclaimed to Rapp, "my power so insecure, that it may be compromitted by a single individual and a prisoner? My crown can not be very secure upon my head, if, in my own capital, the bold stroke of three adventurers can shake it! Rapp, misfortune never comes alone: this is the complement of what is passing here. I can not be everywhere, but I must go back to Paris: my presence there is indispensable to reanimate public opinion. I must have men and money. Great successes and great victories will repair all. I must set off." To such motives, and not to any considerations of fear or cowardice, the hasty return of the emperor in advance of his army is justly to be ascribed.

Notwithstanding the consternation which the first intelligence of the calamity in Russia produced throughout France, in a few days Napoleon had restored the countenance of affairs, and reinspired courage and confidence throughout the country. The defeat which might have prostrated and paralyzed the vigor of any other man, only served to charge Napoleon's faculties with intenser fervor, and to stir up and concentrate every power of his being. The forces of his marvellous character seemed to respond with equal enthusiasm to the stimulus of failure and of success. He had heretofore exhibited the nature of his mind and temper un-

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der circumstances of transcendant prosperity and glory he was now to show those deeper and more intimate powers which misfortune only can develop. Bating not a jot of heart or hope, he devoted himself at once to repair, by gigantic exertions, the mighty losses he had sustained. Orders were sent to the army to rally behind the Elbe, fresh conscripts were called forth, and France, resuming her formidable aspect, again stood defiant of Europe in hostility. Russia and Prussia were now banded in menacing conjunction; several smaller powers threw off their allegiance; and Austria remained in ominous neutrality to watch a little further the course of Napoleon's star. It seemed to be the destiny of this extraordinary person to exhibit in his career every variety of human fortune, and to be called upon for the display of every element of character which mortality can inherit. Splendid in triumph, in misfortune his aspect becomes magnificent. The courage and strength with which he planted himself against advancing hosts upon the plains of Saxony in 1813, and by mere force of genius fairly swung Fortune round for a time — with which, after such a fresh calamity as Leipsig, he "fluttered" and well nigh overthrew his enemies again upon the Seine and Marne — with which, a third time recoiling from ruin, he launched against Europe the terrible blow of Waterloo — exhibit a tenacity of purpose and a prodigiousness of mental ability which human records nowhere parallel, and which recall the mighty conception which poetry has formed of the resolution and energy of the fallen chief of the seraphs.

On the 15th of April, 1813, Napoleon set out from Paris, to add the names of Lutzen, Bautzen, and Dresden, to the wreath of victory which adorns his name,

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and to sustain the tremendous defeat of Leipsig. The narrative of this campaign may be read in the lives of Ney and Poniatowski, whose valor connects them, immemorially, with its history.

After the battle of Leipsig, Napoleon returned to Paris on the 9th of November, 1813. Personally and politically, his condition seemed well nigh desperate; but neither the pride of his character, the energy of his soul, nor the resources of his genius, were yet exhausted. Greater than his fortunes, as Napoleon always appeared, we might have some doubts of the genuine grandeur and dignity of his spirit, if we beheld him only when sailing on the onward tide of victory, and wafted by the unflagging breezes of success; but the vigor of heart, and mind, and temper, with which he now set himself in stern and solitary resistance to nations in league against him, and a continent in arms, leave no room to question his native and genuine greatness. There is not in history a spectacle so sublime as the self-reliant strength and calmness with which Napoleon's soul now exposed itself, Titan-like, to a universe in hostility. Abroad and at home, everything announced the ruin of his empire: yet his great heart and mind still hoped, still labored; still terrified the foes, who, even in their victory, were dismayed by the name at which they had so often bowed. Twice had he sustained the most terrible defeats; two immense armies had been destroyed: he had lost the sceptre of the world in Russia; in Germany, his mastery of Europe had been struck down: but, with all the earnestness of youth and prosperity, this wonderful man prepared once more to defend his empire by the sword, determined that, if he must fall, he could at least have

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an imperial robe to fold around him. Toils and sufferings, beyond all human experience, had not wearied him; possessions and glory beyond imagination — power and adulation beyond all former experience — had not tainted the might of his being; but, with the deathless fervor of an immortal, he sprang from defeat with the flushed energies of conquest.

The prospect was sufficiently appalling. Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, England, Germany, and the confederation of the Rhine, to say nothing of Spain, were now in alliance for a single purpose; their spirit roused in unappeasable indignation, and all their forces, military and political, fully brought out for the destruction of their enemy. An immense armed host surrounded France, and was preparing to march in upon her. Wellington, with above a hundred thousand English, Spanish, and Portuguese troops, was advancing, in unchecked triumph, on the south. On the north, the allied sovereigns had half a million of soldiers on the Rhine, and a quarter of a million more in reserve behind them: and in Italy, Marshal Bellegarde was at the head of eighty thousand Austrians. Upon the whole, a million men in arms were banded together for the overthrow of Napoleon. "A year ago," said he to the senate, "all Europe was marching with us; now, all Europe is marching against us. Posterity shall own that, if great and trying circumstances arose, they were not above France and me."

But the internal dangers which threatened his power were even more alarming than these foreign enemies. Nothing but the irresistible force of his character, derived from a glory whose blaze dazzled and melted away all opposition, had for years kept in subordina-

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tion the rebellious elements of which his political constitution was formed. Now, the *prestige* of victory — the magic of success — were gone; and the antagonist parties of the republicans and royalists combined in every method, concealed and open, to thwart and ruin the man whom they hated. The legislative body was opened on the 19th of December, and Napoleon laid before it his plans, his wishes, and his counsels; and appealed to every natural sentiment which could urge them to his support. "The time," said he, "has gone by when we may think of recovering our lost conquests. Peace and the deliverance of the nation should be the rallying cry. My life has now but one object, the safety and honor of France. The country is invaded. I call upon the inhabitants of Paris, Brittany, and Normandy, of Champagne and Burgundy, to assist their brethren of Lorraine and Alsace." On the 28th, a report was presented in the chamber of deputies by M. Lainé, from the committee to which the negotiations had been referred, in which the most decided opposition to any further war was asserted, and a resolution to accept peace at all events was resolutely avowed. It soon appeared that a powerful party sustained these views; and Napoleon determined to dissolve the chambers. "The legislative body," said he, "instead of joining with me for the preservation of France, exerts all its power to bring about its fall. It betrays its duties: I fulfil mine by dissolving it. If I were certain that all Paris would come to massacre me in the Tuileries today, I would not change my purpose. I do what is my duty. When the French nation intrusted their interests to me, I understood that the laws were given me to enable me to promote those interests. If I had

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deemed them insufficient, I should not have accepted the charge. You need not imagine that I am a Louis the Sixteenth. If anarchy is to be preached anew, I will assert my rights as a citizen: I will mix in the crowd and exercise my share in the sovereignty of the people, rather than remain at the head of affairs, to be embarrassed by others and to be incapable of doing good. You have reproached me with my misfortunes: I have supported them with dignity, because I have received from nature a firm and fierce character. If I had not possessed an indomitable temperament, I should never have placed myself upon the first throne in the world. However, I wanted support, and I expected it from you. Instead of that, you have tried to throw mud upon me. I am one of those men whom you may kill, but can never dishonor. I called you together for the purpose of assisting me, but you have assembled to say and do all that could assist a foreign enemy. Instead of uniting, you make divisions. Do you not know that, in a monarchy, the throne and the monarch are inseparable? What is the throne? A bit of wood, covered with velvet: but, in a political sense, I am the throne! You talk of the people: are you not aware that I am pre-eminently the representative of the people? To attack me, is to harm the nation. If abuses exist, is it a proper moment for remonstrance, when two hundred thousand Cossacks are breaking through our frontiers? Is it a time to dispute about individual liberty and security, when the question is to preserve political independence and national existence? Your visionaries are for guaranties against power: at this moment, France demands only guaranties against the enemy."

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The Jacobins, whom Napoleon had ever abhorred as the very shame of society and the enemies of human happiness, now felt their power, and offered their support upon terms which would have made them the masters of the country. The press, among other things, was to be wholly resigned to them. "This is too much," said Napoleon; "I shall have some chance of deliverance in battle, but none at all from these frantic blockheads. There can be nothing in common between the demagogic principles of 1793 and the monarchy; between clubs of madmen and a regular ministry; between a committee of public safety and an emperor; between revolutionary tribunals and established laws. If I am to fall, I will not bequeath France to the revolutionists, from whom I have delivered her."

Meanwhile, the emperor, with that tireless energy which belonged to him, was developing and organizing with astonishing vigor the resources that remained to him. Negotiations for peace were going on, but his only desire was to preserve France from invasion and to meet his enemies once more in the field. Immediately upon his return to Paris, a levy of three hundred thousand men was ordered. Engineers were sent to the north, to restore the old walls which were formerly the ramparts of France, to fortify the defiles, to lay out redoubts on the heights which might serve as rallying points in retreat, and to make preparations for cutting the bridges which it might be necessary to remove. Orders were sent to the dépôts, foundries, manufactories, and workshops, for the supply of everything that could be required for the army; and the utmost activity prevailed in every department. But money was wanting; the public treasury was exhausted. Napo-

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leon had thirty millions in crowns, which belonged to his private fund: he was advised to set these aside as personal resources which might secure himself and the different members of his family against the reverses with which they were threatened. The proposal was rejected as too selfish; and the whole amount was transferred to the public treasury, by which the national credit was restored and the public service carried vigorously on. Councils succeeded each other hourly at the Tuilleries: the days were too short for the business it was necessary to transact: Napoleon employed the hours of the night which others devoted to rest, in reading what his ministers had not time to tell, in signing documents, and in settling his plans.

But while everything was preparing for war, diplomatic negotiations were carried on with vigor. On the 14th of November, Baron de Saint-Aignan arrived at Paris, bearing from the allies assembled at Frankfort, proposals opening negotiations for peace upon the terms of Napoleon's abandoning Germany, Spain, Holland, and Italy. The two former might indeed be considered as irrecoverably wrested from the emperor by the last campaign; but he was not quite prepared to give up his hold upon Holland and Italy. On the 16th, the duke of Bassano wrote to Metternich at Frankfort, that the emperor was disposed to peace, and agreed to a meeting of a congress at Manheim: but this not being deemed sufficiently precise by the allies, the duke of Vicenza to whom the portfolio of foreign affairs had been consigned, wrote that Napoleon accepted the general and summary basis which M. de Saint-Aignan had communicated. On the 10th of December, Prince Metternich replied that the sovereigns had

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thought proper to consult with England, and that their decision would depend upon her reply. It soon became apparent that this influence was to operate unfavorably: Russia and Austria were willing to allow France to extend to the Rhine: but England refused to leave her in possession of Antwerp and the coast of Belgium. But though little prospect of conciliation remained, two important political steps were taken by Napoleon: one, the permission to the pope to leave Fontainebleau and return to Rome; the other, the treaty of Valençay on the 11th of December, by which Prince Ferdinand was allowed to go back to Spain. The former of these was likely to preserve the north of Italy from the Austrians; and the latter would terminate the influence of Wellington at Madrid.

In the end of December, the allies who had lingered so long before the Rhine, awed, as it might seem, by the colossal memory of an empire which had been shattered in the dust, crossed that river, and the invasion of France and Paris was no longer a matter of doubt. Three great armies were now entering France. The first, which was the army of the prince of Schwartzenberg, and was called the grand army, consisted of two hundred thousand men, and entered through Switzerland, and was to invade Alsace and Franche-comté. It crossed the Rhine about the 21st of December, between Schauffhausen and Strasbourg, in three great divisions. It was composed of Austrian, Bavarian and Würtemberg troops, and of the imperial guards of Austria and Russia. Barclay de Tolly, Wittgenstein, Wrede, Generals Bubua, Giulay, Bianchi, and Colloredo, and the princes of Würtemberg, Hesse-Homburg, and Lichtenstein, were its principal com-

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manders: and the emperors of Russia and of Austria, and the king of Prussia followed its movements in person. The second was the army of Silesia, augmented by several Saxon and Russian divisions; it was commanded in chief by Blucher, with Generals Saint-Priest, Langeron, Yorck, Sacken, and Kleist, as his lieutenants. It consisted of one hundred and thirty thousand men, who were assembled round Frankfort, to wait till Prince Schwartzenberg should have passed Switzerland, and who were then to cross between Manheim and Coblentz and invade Lorraine. The third army commanded by Bernadotte, consisted of his Swedish troops, the Russian corps of Woronzoff and Winzingerode, the Prussian corps of Bulow, and the English troops under Graham, amounting in all to one hundred and seventy thousand men. It had passed through Hanover and Hesse, and was to take Holland, and penetrate into Belgium. Leaving the fortresses, and passing all the lines of defence, these three armies were to march convergently on Paris.

Napoleon contemplated this terrible onset with fears for the worst, certainly, but without agitation and without dismay. The dispersion of his forces in Italy and the south of France, and in the fortresses of the Elbe and Rhine, was such that he had not more than one hundred thousand men to resist this invasion of half a million. They were extended along the Rhine, and were composed of the corps of Macdonald, of twenty thousand, which was spread from Nimeguen to Coblentz; that of Morand, of eighteen thousand, which reached from Coblentz to Mayence; Marmont's of ten thousand, which was stationed from Mayence to Strasbourg; and Victor's of twelve thousand five hun-

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dred, which guarded the river from Strasbourg to Bale; and within this line, Ney, with ten thousand, was in the defiles of the Vosges mountains, and Mortier, with the imperial guard and reserve cavalry, amounting in all to eighteen thousand, was on the Sonne. Augereau, with twelve thousand, was at Lyons.

Such were the insignificant resources with which the French emperor determined to attempt the arrest of this tremendous torrent from the north. Never did the power of science and superiority of human intellect appear more strikingly than in the brilliant strokes that were effected by this trifling force, when directed in this splendid campaign by the mind and heart of Napoleon. His plan was to combine his forces upon the plains of Chalons-sur-Marne, before the separated columns of the enemy could effect a junction: and, occupying this central position, he hoped to revive in their ancient lustre the dazzling tactics of his Italian campaigns. His intention was to manœuvre rapidly in the interior of the enemy's march, to fall upon their detached corps, and, by rapid and exact movements, to make up for the extreme disproportion of numbers. Had he been seconded by an enthusiasm like that of his Italian troops, he might have effected the deliverance of France; but, as the Baron Fain has said—"Though Napoleon had in his hands the same springs, they had lost the republican spirit which once tempered them: most of the chiefs were worn out in the service of their country; the sacred fire, indeed, animated the youth of France and beamed on a few aged heads devoted to glory: in this was the last ray of hope."

Every effort to bring out new troops from France was made; and as fast as reinforcements arrived, they

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proceeded to Champagne, where Marshals Kellermann and Oudinot were forming them into battalions. Care was taken to magnify the resources which the French emperor had in his hands: frequent military reviews were taking place in the court of the Tuileries; and the journals doubled or tripled the number of the troops. The corps on the Rhine were ordered, as they retreated, to converge toward Chalons. Macdonald, on the lower Rhine and Meuse, was directed to re-enter old France by the gate of Ardennes; Marmont was recommended to maintain himself as long as possible in Lorraine; Victor was ordered to dispute, foot by foot, the passage of the Vosges mountains, and Mortier was sent with a division of the guard to support him on the road to Langres. A general instruction was issued to all the marshals, enjoining them, as they retreated, to leave behind them their fatigued and undisciplined troops in the fortresses: these Napoleon intended to combine into an army to fall upon the enemy's rear. Negotiations soon after reopened under auspices which indicated a decisive issue. Lord Castlereagh, a cabinet minister and secretary for foreign affairs, arrived at the Hague on the 6th of January, 1814, and proceeded to the headquarters of the allies. Chatillon-sur-Seine was the place fixed upon for the congress; and thither the duke of Vicenza set out about the same time.

At the end of December, it has been already observed, the barrier of the Rhine was broken through, and the torrent poured down toward the plains of France. Schwartzenberg's left wing, under Bubna, occupied Geneva on the 28th of December, and his centre columns advanced on Epinal, Vesoul, and Besançon.

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Victor hastily quitted Strasbourg to defend the defiles of the Vosges. On the 4th of January, the enemy entered Vesoul; and on the 9th, Besançon was invested. Victor at the head of ten thousand troops could not arrest a host of a quarter of a million. Napoleon issued orders for a levy *en masse* of the eastern departments; and the proclamation was responded to with an effect that annoyed the enemy, but did not retard them. Bubna had intercepted the Simplon road, and taken Valois. Schwartzenberg had forced the passes of the Vosges, and though he had suffered some loss in the engagements of Rambervilliers, Saint-Dré, and Charnes, his left wing, before the middle of January, was extended along the Saone, his centre was thrown forward to Langres, and his right was advanced upon Nancy, which was the rendezvous assigned for the Prussians. On the 16th, Mortier evacuated Langres, and retired through Troyes, on the road of Arcis-sur-l'Aube; Ney and Victor about the same time retired from Nancy on Vitry, by the way of Ligny and Bar. Meanwhile, Blucher with his army had crossed the Rhine, between Manheim and Coblentz, on the night of the 1st of January. The right wing, under Saint-Priest, passed the river at Neuwied, and occupied Coblentz: the centre, consisting of Langeron's and Yorck's corps, passed at Caube, and the former proceeded to blockade Metz, while the latter moved toward Creutznach: the left, consisting of the corps of Sacken and Kleist, crossed at Manheim and advanced against Marmont, who fell back to Metz; but being there pressed by a superior force, retired on the 19th of January upon Verdun, and thence toward Vitry. Yorck arrived before Metz, and Sacken entered Nancy. On the 18th, Macdonald, re-

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tiring from the lower Meuse upon Ardennes, was at Namur: Napoleon despatched courier after courier to direct him to hasten his march to Chalons. All the corps were now assembled in a circle around that place, or were approaching toward it. Napoleon saw the opportunity which that interior and concentrated position gave him of falling upon the straggling columns of the enemy, and he sent off Berthier, on the 20th of January, to announce to the army his intention of immediately joining it.

As an extraordinary and noble means of repelling a novel danger, Napoleon, before his departure, ordered the enrolment of the national guards of Paris, and placed it under the command of Marshal Moncey: and on the 21st of January, he took leave of the guard at the Tuileries. A youthful friend of Napoleon, who was a captain in this guard, has left us an interesting picture of this touching scene: "Napoleon entered with the empress. He advanced with a dignified step, leading by the hand his son, who was not yet three years old. It was long since I had seen him. He had grown very corpulent, and I remarked on his pale countenance an expression of melancholy and irritability. It was a solemn and impressive ceremony. I have rarely witnessed such profound silence in so large an assembly. At length, Napoleon, in a voice as firm and sonorous as when he used to harangue his troops in Italy or in Egypt, but without the air of confidence which then beamed in his countenance, began his address to the assembled officers: 'I set out this night to take the command of the army. On quitting the capital, I confidently leave behind me my wife and my son, in whom so many hopes are centred.'" On the 23d,

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the letters-patent were signed by which the empress was appointed regent of France, and on the following day Joseph was included in the regency, under the title of lieutenant-general of the empire. The same night, the emperor committed all his most private papers to the flames, embraced the empress and his son, neither of whom he was ever again to see on earth, and at three o'clock in the morning of the 25th, stepped into his travelling carriage, breakfasted at Chateau Thierry, and in the evening arrived at Chalons to dinner. He instantly summoned Berthier, Kellermann, and Oudinot, to his headquarters, and spent the greater part of the evening in collecting information respecting the movements of the enemy. The grand army of Schwartzenberg, it appeared, having broken through the Vosges, was approaching Troyes, whither Mortier with the old guard, having opposed every resistance in their power, retired, and thence was falling back on Arcis. Blucher's army had passed through Lorraine, occupied Saint-Dizier, and were advancing diagonally upon the Aube. At this moment, the Prussian advanced-guard, consisting of Sacken's corps, accompanied by Blucher in person, had pushed on by Brienne to join the grand army about Troyes; Lanskoi's corps, having evacuated Saint-Dizier, was following it; and Yorck's troops were coming up from Metz to Saint-Dizier. Napoleon determined to throw himself upon this line of march, and cut Blucher's army in two. He halted, therefore, only twelve hours at Chalons; his baggage filed off during the night with the imperial guard; and at an early hour on the 26th, headquarters were established at Vitry. The army continued its march during that night toward Saint-Dizier; about daybreak on the 27th, it fell in with

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the heads of Lanskoi's columns between Vitry and Saint-Dizier; and at ten o'clock in the morning, Napoleon at the head of the foremost corps entered Saint-Dizier. The Prussian army was thus divided through the centre, and Blucher, separated from his rear, and not yet in communication with the Austrian grand army, was in imminent danger of destruction. Quick as lightning, Napoleon turned round from Saint-Dizier, to throw his whole force upon the Prussian field-marshal toward Troyes. On the evening of the 27th, the French army began to defile through the forest of Der toward Brienne, and, passing with great difficulty and toil through Eclaron and Montier, on the 29th reached the wood of Maizières. Orders were sent, also, to Mortier to return with the old guard from Arcis to Troyes, and thence to advance to Vandeuvres, so as to take Blucher in the rear, while Napoleon engaged him in front at Brienne. Unluckily, these orders were intercepted by Blucher, and the intelligence which he thus gained of the emperor's plan, caused the failure of one of the most brilliant military combinations of that fertile and profound understanding. Blucher placed a strong body of troops in Brienne to check the approach of the French, and sending forward the rest of his forces, was already in communication with the Austrians by Bar-sur-l'Aube.

Brienne stands upon the side of an elevated hill; the Russians, under Alsufieff, occupied the lower streets, and the picked troops of the Prussian army were ranged on the terraces of the castle of Brienne overlooking the town. The lower town was forced with great spirit by Rear-Admiral Baste, who lost his life in the action, and the higher position was carried by General Chateau,

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with such promptitude that Blucher and his staff had barely time to escape. The bulk of the Prussian army retired from the town and took the road to Bar-sur-l Aube to join the Austrians; but the rear-guard obstinately kept in part of the town, and endeavored to retake the castle; and the contest was kept up during the night. The French army was bivouacked in the plain between Brienne and Maizières, and headquarters were in the latter. The artillery had been advanced to take the positions assigned to them, and Napoleon, having issued his last orders, was returning to Maizières, when he had a very narrow escape from being captured. This incident may best be related in the language in which he himself told it to Dr. O'Meara, two years afterward, at St. Helena: "At the battle of Brienne," said he, "I recollect that about twenty or twenty-five Uhlans, not Cossacks, got round one of the wings of my army, and endeavored to fall upon a part of the artillery. It was at the close of the day and just commencing to be dark. They stumbled, somehow or other, upon me and my staff; and when they saw us, they were quite lost and did not know how to act. They did not know, however, who I was; neither was I for some time aware of what they were: I thought that they were my own troops, until some one called out that we were among enemies. At this moment, the Uhlans being frightened, and not knowing what to do, began to fly, and tried to escape in all directions; and my staff began to fire upon them. One of them galloped up so close to me, without knowing me, as to touch my knee violently with his hand. He had a spear in his hand at the charge, but it was with the other hand that he touched me. At first, I thought it was one of my

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own staff who was riding roughly by me; but looking round, I perceived it was one of the enemy. I put my hand down to draw out one of my pistols to fire at him, but he was gone. That day I drew my sword, which was a circumstance that rarely occurred, as I gained battles with my eye and not with my arms." The same evening several Prussian officers were made prisoners, and among them young Hardenberg, the nephew of the chancellor of Prussia; he stated that, when taken, he was in the midst of the staff, and that Blucher himself was by his side, who thus escaped not less narrowly than Napoleon had done.

At daybreak on the 30th, the French were in possession of Brienne, and Napoleon lodged in the castle which looked out over the scene of his youthful studies. On the 31st, Prince Schwartzenberg and Marshal Blucher advanced with their combined troops and offered battle on the plain between Bar-sur-l'Aube and Brienne. As the principal retreat was over the bridge at Lesmont, which was broken, Napoleon could not avoid the engagement. His plans had therefore been defeated by the rapid concentration of the Prussian and Austrian armies; and he was obliged to meet a hundred thousand with a force of half the size. The battle took place on the 1st of February. The French right under General Gerard, defended the village of Dienville on the banks of the Aube; the centre consisted of Victor's corps at Chaumeuil and Giberie, and the young guard at La Rothière; while Marmont was on the left at Morvilliers. On the part of the allies, the right consisted of Wrede's Bavarian troops; the centre was formed by the Würtembergers, and Sacken's corps, with the Russian guard in reserve; on the left toward

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the river was the Austrian corps of Giulay. In the centre where the battle raged with the greatest fury, Napoleon commanded in person on the one side, and the allied sovereigns were present on the other. The conflict was continued with the utmost obstinacy until night put an end to the engagement: the army retained nearly the same positions it had held in the morning, but the enemy enjoyed a decided superiority, and a little more confidence would have made them masters of the field. Napoleon determined to retreat toward Troyes. Marmont's corps keeping Wrede's corps at bay, retired along the right bank of the Aube to Arcis; and the rest of the army defiled across the bridge of Lesmont which had been rapidly repaired, and retired in some confusion to Troyes, where they joined Mortier's corps. The enemy made no attempt to follow the retiring columns; Napoleon, with his troops disappointed and dispirited, took up his position on the 3d at Troyes.

Here he received despatches from Caulaincourt, which announced the opening of the congress at Chatillon on the 4th of February: and so desperate at this moment did the affairs of the emperor seem, that on the 5th, he sent Caulaincourt a *carte blanche*, to conclude the negotiations upon any terms by which the capital might be saved, and a battle avoided. On the following day, Napoleon having given his troops three days' rest at Troyes, determined to evacuate that city, and draw nearer to Paris. Having up to the last moment made demonstrations of resuming the offensive, which so impressed the enemy along the Aube that they fell back a day's march, he retired on the night of the 6th to the village of Gres, and on the 7th arrived at Nogent.

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Here despatches were received from Chatillon, announcing that the allies dissented from the basis proposed at Frankfort, and required France to retire within her own limits. The emperor having read these communications, shut himself up in his room, and seemed lost in melancholy reflection. Berthier and Murat went to him; he handed them the paper, and when they had perused it, an interval of silence ensued. But the allies demanded an immediate answer: the courier waited; and Berthier and Murat entreated him to give a favorable reply. "How," he exclaimed with warmth, "can you wish me to sign a treaty which would violate the solemn oath which I have taken to maintain the integrity of the territory of the republic? Unexampled misfortunes wrung from me a promise to renounce the conquests which I myself have made: but shall I relinquish those which were made before me! after all the blood that has been shed, and all the victories that have been gained, shall I leave France less than I found her? Never! I should deserve to be branded as a coward! What would the French people think of me if I were to sign their humiliation? What could I say to the republicans of the senate, when they demanded their barriers of the Rhine? Heaven preserve me from such degradation! Despatch an answer to Caulaincourt, if you will; but tell him that I reject the treaty. I would rather encounter the most terrible war!" Such were the first passions of this proud spirit when the truth of his weakness was thus forced upon him in its bitterness: but his attendants afterward obtained permission to write to Caulaincourt on terms which authorized him to continue the negotiation.

But victory and hope were yet again to illuminate

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the fortunes of the emperor. Napoleon had an inexhaustible resource in the errors of his antagonists; and that superiority of his genius over theirs which accident had obscured at Brienne, was once more to be illustrated in transcendent splendor. After the battle of Brienne, Blucher and Schwartzenberg had again separated their armies; the former to advance along the Marne, and the latter along the Seine. Blucher concentrated his forces between Chalons and Arcis with his characteristic impetuosity, and rushed onward to the capital. Macdonald who had arrived from Liege was now at Chalons, and the hopes of overwhelming him, hastened the movements of the Prussian commander. Yorck entered Chalons on the 5th of February, and Macdonald retired toward Epernay, and as Blucher advanced by forced marches through Brie Champenoise, he retreated to La Ferté-sous-Jouarre. While the French marshal was thus falling back upon Meaux, the Prussians were extended from Chalons to La Ferté, marching in perfect confidence, intent only on reaching Paris before the allies. But the eagle eye of the hero of Italy was upon them, and they were to pay dearly for their rashness. Napoleon determined to march suddenly across the country, fall upon the Prussian flank and destroy it in detail. When Murat presented himself again to submit the despatches which he had prepared for Chatillon, he found the emperor poring over his maps with the compasses in his hand. "Oh! here you are," said he: "but I am now thinking of something very different. I am beating Blucher on the map. He is advancing by the road of Montmirail: I shall set out and beat him to-morrow. On the following day I shall beat him again. If this movement

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should turn out as successfully as I expect, the state of affairs will be entirely changed, and we shall then see what can be done.

The Prussian troops, about the 8th, and 9th, and 10th of February, were in the following positions: Sacken's corps, passing through Montmirail, were near to La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, and Yorck was moving on the highway through Chateau Thierry toward Montmirail; a day's march behind Sacken, the Russian Alsufieff was at Champaubert, where he was directed to remain until further orders; Blucher himself was at Vertus waiting for Kleist's corps, which was coming up through Chalons. Napoleon was at Nogent, twelve leagues off, on their left, and separated from them by crossroads almost impassable. To march suddenly across from the Seine through Sezanne, to fall perpendicularly upon these detached corps, and cut them in pieces in detail, was a conception worthy of the surpassing fame of the emperor, and its execution was accomplished with all the energy of his character. Leaving Victor at Nogent, and Oudinot at Bray-sur-Seine, to keep the Austrians in check, and act as a curtain to conceal his own movement, he moved off to Sezanne on the night of the 8th and morning of the 9th. Marmont, who commanded the advanced-guard, found the road so bad that he turned back; but Napoleon immediately compelled him to resume his march. Double the usual number of horses were put in requisition, and the difficulties of the passage were overcome. On the morning of the 10th, Marmont, accompanied by Napoleon in person, passed the defiles of Saint-Gond, and drove the enemy from Baye; and in the afternoon the army arrived at the village of Champaubert, debouched on the high-

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road of Chalons, and attacking in front and flank Alsufieff's corps of about five thousand Russians, who rallied with great spirit, speedily defeated and routed them. Some fled toward Montmirail, and were pursued by Nansouty's cavalry; others retreated on Etoges and Chalons, and were followed by Marmont. In this brilliant engagement, Alsufieff was captured, three thousand Russians were killed, wounded, or made prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon taken; while the French lost but six hundred. The most splendid hopes were inspired by this first success of the grand plan which the emperor's genius had contrived. He wrote at once to Caulaincourt, to acquaint him that a great change had taken place in his affairs, and that the plenipotentiary might assume a less humble attitude at the congress.

The emperor established his headquarters in a cottage on the road, at the corner of the principal street of Champaubert. Here the enemy's officers who had been made prisoners were introduced to him, and politely entertained. Supping that evening with Berthier, Marmont, and his prisoner Alsufieff, Napoleon, in the highest spirits, exclaimed: "Another such victory as this, gentlemen, and I shall be on the Vistula." There was no response from the marshals, and their countenances showed that they did not share his hopes. "I see how it is," said he; "every one is growing tired of war: there is no more enthusiasm; the sacred fire is extinct." He then rose and advanced toward General Drouot, with the obvious design of conveying a censure upon the coldness of his marshals: "General," said he, patting him on the shoulder, "we only want a hundred men like you, and we should succeed."

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"Rather," said Drouot, with modesty and good principle — "rather say a hundred thousand, sire."

Leaving Marmont to check Blucher, Napoleon the next day, with the rest of the army, set out to fall upon Sacken, who had passed Montmirail, and Yorck, who had gone through Chateau-Thierry. The latter was already within sight of the steeples of Meaux, and the former was at La Ferté; but upon the first intelligence of the affair of Champaubert, they hastily fell back toward Montmirail. The French advanced-guard, as it was issuing out of that city on the morning of the 11th, encountered them on the Paris road, and a sanguinary engagement ensued. At three in the afternoon, Mortier with the old guard, which had remained behind, arrived by the direct road from Sezanne to Montmirail; and Napoleon gave orders for a general and decisive attack. Ney and Mortier on the right, at the head of the guard, carried the Ferme-des-Grenaux, round which the enemy were strongly established; and on the left, Bertrand and Marshal Lefebvre were about driving them back from the village of Marchais, when they abandoned their attempt to force a passage through Montmirail, and retired across the fields toward Chateau-Thierry, in the hopes of joining Blucher by the Chalons road. They were vigorously pursued during the 12th, cut off from Chalons, and obliged to throw themselves into Chateau-Thierry, where they were dispersed and sabred in the very avenues of the place, and many were followed by Mortier on the road to Soissons. The entire loss of these two corps on the 11th and 12th was about six thousand men, besides a number of guns and standards. Meanwhile, Blucher, who had summoned to his aid the corps of Kleist and Langeron,

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was driving in Marmont from Champaubert, and Napoleon on the afternoon of the 13th sent his army across from Chateau-Thierry to aid him against Blucher, and he himself, having given his directions for the defence of the Marne, mounted his horse at midnight to rejoin Marmont. That marshal, retiring before Blucher, reached Vauchamps on the morning of the 14th, where his whole corps faced about and took a position on the plain. The troops under Napoleon now arrived, and the enemy saw the whole French army deployed in order of battle behind Marmont. At eight in the morning, the shouting announced the arrival of the emperor, and the battle began. Blucher soon perceived that a retreat was inevitable; but the road toward Champaubert was occupied by the cavalry under Grouchy, and it was necessary to cut his way through them. The retiring movements were conducted with heroic valor and coolness; but the charges of cavalry broke the squares that formed, and the retreat soon became an absolute flight. Several times during the evening, Blucher, surrounded by his staff, defended himself with his sabre, and escaped only by favor of the darkness. Marmont pursued him the whole night; and he continued his retreat until, on the afternoon of the 15th, he reached Chalons and was protected by the Marne. Blucher's loss in this calamitous affair was about seven thousand, besides a number of guns and standards. Thus his whole army had, by these splendid operations of the emperor, been, in five days, routed and driven behind the Marne, with the loss of more than twenty thousand men. On the night of the 15th, Napoleon despatched three bulletins to Paris, announcing the events of this glorious week; and the news was

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soon followed by a column of eight thousand Russian and Prussian prisoners, who defiled on the Boulevards before the eyes of the Parisians.

But the presence of Napoleon had now become necessary on the Seine, which Schwartzenberg had succeeded in passing. Leaving, therefore, Mortier and Marmont to deal with the Prussians, he passed over to Meaux with the imperial guard and Macdonald's corps on the night of the 15th, and sent word to Oudinot and Victor, that on the next day, the 16th, he would debouch in the rear by Guignes. Affairs in that direction were sufficiently alarming. The grand Austrian army had forced the bridges of Nogent, Bray, and Montereau, and had advanced on Nangis; and its advanced-guard, consisting of Wrede's Bavarians and Wittgenstein's Russians, was entering La Brie: on the other side of the Seine, Sens had been carried, Bianchi's Austrian corps was advancing on Fontainebleau, and Platoff's Cossacks were ravaging the country between the Yonne and the Loire. During the 16th, Oudinot and Victor, strongly pursued by the enemy, were maintaining themselves at Guignes, and keeping possession of the road to Chaulnes, by which Napoleon was expected to arrive. The emperor in the morning of the 16th quitted Meaux, and passing through Crécy and Fontenay, established his headquarters at Guignes in the evening. His presence at once checked the advance of the allies, and charged his own retiring and dismayed columns with strength and confidence. On the morning of the 17th, the welcome reinforcement of Treillard's dragoons arrived from Spain; and the army moved forward in a concentrated body of above fifty thousand toward Nangis, driving the divided forces of

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the enemy before them. Wittgenstein's advanced-guard retiring on Nogent, were furiously assailed by Oudinot, who was accompanied by Napoleon, and at Nangis were utterly routed, with the loss of three thousand killed and made prisoners: Macdonald chased the enemy toward Bray; General Gerard drove the Bavarians at the point of the sword beyond Villeneuve-le-Comte; and Victor pushed forward to Montereau, with orders to carry the bridge that evening. The emperor slept at the castle of Nangis, and the imperial guard bivouacked around that village. The same evening Count Parr arrived with a message from Prince Schwartzenberg, proposing a suspension of hostilities; and Napoleon took advantage of this opening to address a letter to the emperor of Austria, with a view of instituting negotiations more advantageously than those which were going on at Chatillon. At the same time, he wrote to Caulaincourt, informing him that the *carte blanche* which he had given him was for the purpose of saving the capital and preventing a battle; that Paris was now saved, and the battle fought and won; and, therefore, that his extraordinary powers were at an end, and the future negotiations must follow the usual course. A new military success was destined to raise the emperor's prospects still higher.

On the night of the 17th, Victor's corps, through fatigue, had not been able to reach Montereau in time to seize the bridge: the Würtemberg troops were already in possession of it, and in occupation of the town. On the morning of the 18th, Napoleon advanced to that place with his imperial guard; and at the same time, the Bretagne national guard and Pajol's cavalry were ordered to approach it by the Melun road. Victor at-

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tacked with great spirit, but without success, and his son-in-law, General Chateau, was killed at the first onset. Gerard came up to his support, and the engagement was proceeding with vigor, when Napoleon arrived with the imperial guard on the heights of Surville, which command the confluence of the Seine and Yonne and look down upon Montereau. Batteries were mounted with the artillery of the guard, and a tempest of balls hurled down on the Würtemberg troops below. Napoleon himself pointed the guns and directed the firing. The enemy directed their fire to the spot, in hopes of dismounting the batteries; but their balls hissed like the wind over the heights of Surville. Napoleon's soldiers began to fear that he might incur some risk: "Come on, my brave fellows," he cried, "fear nothing; the ball that is to kill me is not yet cast." The firing proceeded with redoubled quickness: not a window in the castle of Surville escaped. Under cover of these furious discharges, the Bretagne guards established themselves in the suburbs, and General Pajol carried the bridge by a charge of cavalry, so rapidly that the enemy had not time to blow up a single arch; and the Würtemberg troops retired in confusion toward Troyes. The loss of the enemy in this battle, which was one of the most brilliant of the campaign, was about five thousand killed and made prisoners, and the French loss was nearly three thousand. The tardiness of Victor on the night before, which had rendered this engagement necessary, excited the wrath of Napoleon, who removed him from the command of his corps and gave it to Gerard.

On the night of the 18th, Napoleon slept at the castle of Surville, and on the following day sent orders to

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all the corps of the army to harass the enemy continually during their retreat, and to pursue them on to Troyes. Gerard, with Victor's troops, marched upon Bianchi's Austrians, which were precipitately returning from Fontainebleau by Sens: the guard swept the defenders of Montereau along between the Saone and Yonne; and Macdonald and Oudinot clearing the right bank of the Seine, advanced on Bray and Nogent. On the 20th, the emperor with the main body of his forces proceeded up the left bank of the Seine, breakfasting at Bray, in the house which the emperor of Russia had quitted the day before, and reaching Nogent in the evening where Oudinot's corps arrived at the same time from Provins. On the 22d, Napoleon renewed his march in pursuit of the enemy to Troyes: and the allies were thrown into the utmost confusion during their retreat. With forty thousand Frenchmen, he was driving a hundred thousand men before him. On the morning of the 23d, Prince Wentzel Lichtenstein, an aide-de-camp of Swartzenberg, presented himself at headquarters with a conciliatory and polite letter from the emperor of Austria, in answer to that which Napoleon had written him from Nangis on the 17th. Napoleon informed the messenger that he would, next day, send a French general to the advanced posts to negotiate for the armistice: and he himself in the afternoon hastened on to Troyes which was still held by the Russian rear-guard. Unwilling to injure the town by an assault, he agreed to remain without the walls during the night; and at daybreak on the 24th, he entered the town with the first troops. On the following days, the enemy's headquarters had fallen back to Colombey: the Russian guard had retreated to Langries, and Lich-

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tenstein's corps to Dijon: the allied sovereigns had retired to Chaumont, and the French troops were taking possession of Lusigny. Meanwhile, on the 24th, another aide-de-camp had arrived from Schwartzenberg, proposing Lusigny near Vandouvres, for the meeting of the generals intrusted with the negotiation of the armistice, and announcing the appointment of General Duca, as commissioner for Austria, Rauch, for Prussia, and Schouvaloff, for Russia. Napoleon immediately named his aide-de-camp, Flahaut, commissioner, and the conferences opened on the 25th, at Lusigny.

Such were the splendid and astonishing results which in the fortnight had elapsed since Napoleon's transverse movement from Nogent, had placed the highest lustre of military glory upon the brow of this matchless chief. By a series of operations, whose conception illustrates the profoundest reach of science, and whose execution was marked by an energy almost beyond mortal compass, he had thrice defeated the army of Blucher, and hurled him back from the capital in utter confusion and with dreadful loss. The grand army of allied Europe, accompanied by three sovereigns, had fled from his presence, twice had felt his destructive blows, and now was suing for a suspension of hostilities. Equal to the Italian campaign, superior to all else that is recorded in the annals of the earth, it is to these operations that the military student may point in justification of that enthusiasm of admiration which must ever be felt for this commander, by every one who explores and can appreciate these prodigies of strategy.

The remaining operations of the campaign are not inferior in brilliance and vigor; but they want the daz-

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zle of success to give them interest in the popular eye, and they will therefore be traced in a more summary manner. While the Austrians were thus engaging the attention of Napoleon, the indomitable Blucher had rallied and concentrated his forces, and had advanced to the left bank of the Aube, to join Schwartzenberg for the defence of Troyes. Finding himself too late for his purpose, he determined once more to march directly on Paris, and accordingly recovering the line of the Marne, he swept furiously along down both the banks: and at the same time Bulow's and Winzingerode's corps, of the army of the north, pressed down around Soissons. Marmont, driven on the 24th, from Sezanne, and Mortier repelled from Soissons, and Chateau-Thierry, united at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre on the 26th, and retired together toward Meaux. Napoleon received intelligence of this on the night of the 26th, and all his plans were changed at once. Leaving Oudinot and Macdonald before Troyes, he set out on the morning of the 27th, by Arcis-sur-l'Aube and Sezanne for La Ferté: and sent information of his movements to the marshals who were beyond that place. His object was, to encircle Blucher at that place, on the left bank of the Marne, and destroy him as by a clap of thunder. The Prussian chief, however, became apprized of the design in time to escape: he suddenly crossed the Marne, and destroyed the bridge behind him, and when Napoleon reached the heights of Jouarre on the 28th of February, he looked down with infinite vexation upon the prize which had escaped his grasp, and was safely established on the opposite bank of the river. But he would not yet abandon the pursuit; the bridges were repaired, and the army crossed on the

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the night of the second of March. Blucher retreated toward the north. Napoleon hoped to hem him in by the Aisne, and to surround him in the direction of Soissons, where Mortier had left a French garrison, and compel him to lay down his arms. Accordingly launching Mortier and Marmont forward on the left, he himself moved rapidly upon Chateau-Thierry, and Blucher seemed to be within his grasp, when the drawbridges of Soissons were lowered and the Prussians marched in. The French garrison had surrendered the day before to Bulow and Winzingerode, who had approached it from Belgium; and they now received the flying troops of Blucher. Thus were these laborious marches of Napoleon, finely conceived and managed, foiled of success in the very moment of execution.

Neither terrified nor disheartened, Napoleon now prepared to advance against the army of the north. On the night of the 4th of March, General Corbineau was sent to occupy Rheims, and on the 5th, headquarters were established at Béry-au-bac, where the road from Rheims to Laon crosses the Aisne. On the 6th, the army advanced toward Laon, but halted at Corbeny. The Russian corps of Winzingerode and Woronzoff had taken a position on the heights of Craonne, in order to give time to Blucher to retire from Soissons to Laon, On the 7th, at daybreak, the sanguinary engagement of Craonne began: after a fierce contest the enemy were driven back and pursued to Laon, but Victor, Grouchy, who commanded all the cavalry, and Nansouty, who led the cavalry of the guard, were wounded. Just after this battle, intelligence arrived from Caulaincourt that the allies peremptorily insisted on the

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terms of France retiring within her ancient limits, and required an answer in three days. "If I am to receive a flogging," said Napoleon, "it is not my business to expose myself voluntarily to it: the least I can do is to have it applied by force." He sent, therefore, no answer to this demand, but directed Caulaincourt to prolong the negotiations as much as possible.

The army advanced toward Laon, and a detachment was sent to take possession of Soissons and to effect a junction with Mortier, who had not crossed the Aisne. On the 8th, Flahaut arrived from Lusigny with intelligence that the commissioners had separated without anything being accomplished. On the following day, Blucher, who had rallied all his Russians and Prussians, and had been joined by Bernadotte's advanced-guard, drew up his forces in battle array in front of Laon, which is situated on an elevated peak: Bulow's corps was in the centre, Kleist's and Yorck's corps on the left, and Langeron's, Sacken's, and Winzingerode's on the right. Napoleon's army, also, was arranged for an engagement on the following day: Ney, Mortier, and the imperial guard, were stationed on the Soissons road, and Marmont, who had crossed the Aisne by Béry-au-bac, halted for the night at Corbeny, and debouched on Laon by the Rheims road. Orders were issued for an attack at daybreak on the following day, and everything indicated a sanguinary and decisive battle. It was prevented by the surprise and destruction of Marmont's corps by the Prussians during the night. On the 10th, at four in the morning, Napoleon had drawn on his boots and called for his horse, when two dragoons, who had arrived on foot in the greatest disorder, were brought to him. They stated that a

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houra had been made on Marmont's bivouacs during the night; that the marshal was either killed or taken; and that everything was lost in that quarter. Napoleon ordered all his officers immediately to mount their horses; and some rode to the advanced-guard to suspend the attack, while others hastened to obtain information. It was soon ascertained that, though Marmont had not been killed, his entire corps had been cut to pieces and dispersed during the night, and that a great number of cannon had been lost. All idea of a battle was now at an end, though a combat took place in the village of Clacy, which Charpentier's division held. The army retired to Soissons in the afternoon and evening of the 10th, and Napoleon passed the 11th and 12th there in providing for its fortification and defence. On the night of the 12th–13th, intelligence arrived that the Russian corps of Saint-Priest, which had manœuvred by Chalons, had advanced to Rheims, defeated Corbineau, and occupied the city. Leaving Mortier at Soissons, Napoleon took the road to Rheims on the 13th, and arrived before the gates the same evening, and immediately ordered an attack. The enemy defended themselves with resolution; and the engagement lasted the whole evening and part of the night. At length the enemy's general was dangerously wounded and carried off, and his troops retired. Napoleon entered Rheims at one o'clock in the morning.

But the occurrences on the Seine were now urgently demanding the emperor's attention. On the 27th, the very day on which he had set out for the north, the allies had advanced and engaged Macdonald and Oudinot at Bar-sur-l'Aube — a sanguinary battle, in which Wittgenstein and Schwartzenberg were wounded, but

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which resulted in the retreat of the marshals to Troyes. The Austrian army then made a general movement forward toward Paris. Macdonald and Oudinot evacuated Troyes on the 4th of March: they attempted afterward to stop the enemy at the passage of the Seine at Nogent, but there existed no prospect of their being able to check their progress. Intelligence of the alarming movements which Schwartzenberg's army was making reached Napoleon at Rheims; and he instantly resolved to march across the country and debouch upon the rear of the enemy. Leaving Mortier and Marmont at Soissons and Rheims, with orders to defend the road to Paris, foot by foot, against the masses of Russians, Prussians, and Swedes, that were pressing upon it, he marched with Ney's corps and the guard, on the morning of the 17th, through Epernay and La Fere-Champenoise to Mery and Chatres on the Seine, where he arrived on the 19th. This movement would have brought him upon the allied rear; but intelligence had reached them of the defeat of Saint-Priest at Rheims, and of Napoleon's intention to return to the Seine, and they had immediately fallen back, by a general retreat, from Provins, Nogent, and Sezanne, to Troyes and Arcis. Thus his return had again delivered Paris; but the very terror which his presence inspired, had defeated his object of taking his opponents in the flank and rear. He effected a junction with Macdonald and Oudinot, and then reascended the Aube as far as Bar.

The operations of Napoleon had now shown that, so long as the different armies of invasion acted separately from each other, it was in his power to prevent any one of them from reaching his capital. A council of the

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allied sovereigns confessed a conclusion so complimentary to the genius of their opponent, by resolving to effect a junction with Blucher on the plains of Chalons, and to march together upon Paris. Schwartzenberg was now moving by Arcis to execute this arrangement, when Napoleon arrived there on the 20th. Thinking that he was dealing with a rear-guard or a detached corps, his advanced-guard became engaged, and a heavy cannonade began. He hastened to the scene of action, and sent successively for all his troops; the allies augmented their forces still more, and Napoleon found that he had their whole army upon his hands. A furious engagement of artillery ensued. He was personally exposed to the greatest danger. Enveloped in the dust of cavalry charges, says Baron Fain, he was obliged to extricate himself sword in hand: he fought several times at the head of his escort, and seemed to defy the perils of the battle: a shell having fallen at his feet, he awaited the explosion, and quickly disappeared in a cloud of dust and smoke: he was thought to have been killed, but he got again upon his legs, threw himself on another horse, and went to expose himself once more to the fire of the batteries. Rallying under the walls of Arcis, the French maintained themselves till night against the allied army, which surrounded it in a semicircle. On the morning of the 21st, another bridge was thrown over the Aube, and a retreat began. The action, however, was renewed along the whole line; but such was the vigor with which the French repelled the attack, that they succeeded in repassing the Aube in an orderly manner. Napoleon then abandoned the road to the capital, and directed his retreat toward Vitry-le-Français and Saint-

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Dizier, for the purpose of placing himself upon the communications and rear of the two great armies.

His hope was to draw the allies away from Paris, and throw them into a new system of operations. This was disappointed, and the game, which his profound combinations had so wonderfully protracted, brought to a sudden termination by the bold resolution now taken by the allies, to leave Napoleon and advance at all risks to Paris. On the 23d, when Napoleon was at Saint-Dizier, where he was joined by Caulaincourt, the congress at Chatillon having broken up, Blucher and Schwartzenberg approaching one another, had effected a junction between Chalons and Arcis. Mortier and Marmont having marched by Chateau-Thierry to Fere-Champenoise, to communicate with Napoleon, were there defeated on the 25th of March, and thereafter thought only of protecting the capital. These two marshals fell rapidly back, narrowly escaped being cut off at Ferté-Gaucher by the Prussian corps which was marching by Soissons, and reached the city on the 28th. The allies, following in a resistless host, beheld the walls of the capital on the evening of the 29th. A brave defence, however, was still to be made; but the battle of Paris on the 30th, and the surrender of the city on the evening of the same day, will be more fully related in the life of Marmont.

On the afternoon of the 28th, the intelligence which Napoleon received at Doulevent induced him to return to Paris. If the city could hold out but a single day, he might fall upon the rear of the allied armies and relieve the capital. Early on the 29th, he left Doulevent, and arrived at Troyes that night, the imperial guard having marched fifteen leagues that day. From

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Doulevent, where he received fresh intelligence, he despatched General Dejean, his aide-de-camp, to announce his return to the Parisians. From Troyes, fresh messengers were sent with the same tidings. On the morning of the 30th, he marched with his guard as far as Villeneuve-sur-Vannes, and then, being no longer doubtful about the security of the road, he threw himself into a postchaise, and urging the postillions with the most fiery impatience, he advanced with extraordinary rapidity. In changing horses, intelligence was successively received, that the empress and her son had left Paris, that the enemy was at the gates, and that the attack had commenced. Napoleon was wild with eagerness to arrive within his capital. At ten at night, he was only five leagues from Paris; but at Fromenteau, just as fresh horses were putting to the chaise, he learnt that all was over. Paris had just surrendered; and he had arrived a few hours too late. He alighted on the left bank of the river, and having despatched Caulaincourt with full powers to ascertain whether it was still possible for him to interpose in the treaty, waited in the darkness, with a few attendants, the issue of the mission. At four in the morning, a courier arrived from Caulaincourt to announce that no hope remained: the capitulation had been signed two hours after midnight, and the allies were to enter Paris the same morning. Napoleon immediately turned back, and at six o'clock in the morning of the 31st of March entered Fontainebleau. In the evening, Moncey, Lefebvre, Ney, Macdonald, Oudinot, Berthier, Mortier, and Marmont, arrived at his headquarters; and the remains of the army assembled around Fontainebleau.

On the 31st, at noon, the emperor Alexander and

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the king of Prussia entered Paris; and on the 1st of April, the senate, at their dictation, established the provisional government. Napoleon still had an army of fifty thousand men beside him, and was desirous of marching on Paris; but the coldness and disinclination of his marshals checked and paralyzed his efforts. On the following day, the *senatus consultum* was adopted, dethroning Napoleon and absolving all persons from allegiance to him. On the 4th of April, Napoleon executed an act of abdication in favor of his son, and of a regency by the empress, which he sent to the allies, as is more fully related in the life of Macdonald. On the same night, intelligence arrived of the defection of Marmont with the army; which seemed to render the emperor's position hopeless, and to place him at the mercy of his enemies. But his spirit and his hopes were not yet exhausted. Soult's army at Toulouse, Suchet's from Catalonia, Augereau's at Lyons, Eugene's in Italy, remained, and he thought of combining them in one mass and again resuming the field. The horrors of a civil war were then depicted to him by the marshals and generals around him: "Well," said he, "if I must renounce the hope of defending France, does not Italy offer a retreat worthy of me? Will you follow me once more across the Alps?" This proposal was received in profound silence. "If at this moment," says Baron Fain, "Napoleon had quitted his saloon, and entered the hall of the secondary officers, he would have found a host of young men eager to follow wheresoever he might lead them: but a step further, and he would have been greeted at the foot of the stairs by the acclamations of all his troops." Napoleon declared that he had been subdued less by his

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enemies than by the defection of his friends. On the 11th of April, he executed an unconditional abdication, in the following terms: "The allied powers having proclaimed that the emperor is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the emperor, faithful to his oath, renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, and declares that there is no sacrifice, not even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interests of France." This was no sooner carried by Caulaincourt to the allies, than Napoleon became dissatisfied with the step he had taken, and despatched courier after courier to recall it. But it was too late. His dignity, however, was fully maintained in the arrangements which followed; for it was by a treaty with the allied sovereigns in his character of emperor, that the dispositions were made by which he departed for Elba. The treaty was signed at Paris on the 11th of April by the plenipotentiaries of both sides, and ratified by himself on the 13th. It was stipulated by this treaty that the emperor renounced, for himself and his successors, all right of sovereignty and dominion over the French empire and the kingdom of Italy, as well as over every other country; that their majesties, the emperor Napoleon and Maria Louisa, should retain their titles and rank during life; that the isle of Elba, adopted by his majesty the emperor Napoleon as his place of residence, should form during his life a separate principality, to be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property; and that he should receive an annual revenue of two millions of francs in rent charge in the great book of France; and that he should be allowed to take with him and retain, as his guard, four hundred men. Napoleon now enjoined his

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followers to submit to the new government — not to the provisional government, which he regarded merely as a committee of traitors and factious men, but to the Bourbon family, which he thenceforth consented to acknowledge as the rallying point of the French people.

Fontainebleau was soon nearly deserted. Commissioners on the part of the allied sovereigns were to accompany Napoleon, and eight days elapsed before their arrival. Napoleon passed the time nearly alone. All had hastened to make their peace with the new powers. Marshals of his appointment — dukes of his creation — ministers of state, whom he had raised to distinction — friends, whom he had laden with benefits — all were "gone to salute the rising morn." Napoleon, divested now of power and influence, had withdrawn to a corner of the palace, and only now and then quitted his apartment to walk in the garden. Whenever he heard the rolling of carriage-wheels in the courtyard, he would inquire whether Berthier, or some of his old ministers, had not arrived to bid him farewell. He fully expected that there were some persons who would render him this last testimony of attachment: but no one appeared. Caulaincourt, duke of Vicenza, and Maret, duke of Bassano, were the only ministers who remained with him and treated him with respect and consideration.

If any have refused the tribute of applause to the conduct of Napoleon in his days of gladness and triumph, none can withhold their respect and sympathy from the stern dignity and unabated pride with which he sustained the terrible calamities which were now precipitated upon him. It is impossible not to admire the fierce vigor with which he met, and hurled back,

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the shafts of insult which, in the hour of his gloom, were showered upon him by "senates once his slaves." After the adoption of the *senatus consultum*, and Marmont's defection, Napoleon published an address to the army, which contained the following remarks in relation to the body which had once fawned upon him with so much servility :—

"The senate has presumed to dispose of the French government; but it forgets that it owes to the emperor the power which it now abuses. The emperor saved one half of the members of the senate from the storms of the revolution; he raised the other half from obscurity, and protected them against the hatred of the people. These men avail themselves of the articles of the constitution as grounds for its subversion. The senate blushes not to reproach the emperor, unmindful that, as the first body in the state, it has participated in every public measure. * * * * *

"The emperor has ever been accessible to the remonstrances of his ministers, and he, therefore, expected from them the most complete justification of the measures which he adopted. If public speeches and addresses received the coloring of enthusiasm, the emperor was deceived; but those who held this language must blame themselves for the consequences of their flattery. * * * So long as fortune continued faithful to their sovereign, these men also remained faithful. If the emperor despised mankind, as he is said to have done, the world will now admit that it was not without reason. His dignity was conferred on him by God and the people, who alone can deprive him of it: he always considered it a burden, and when he accepted it, it was with the conviction that he was able adequately to sus-

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tain it. The happiness of France seemed to be connected with the fate of the emperor: now that fortune frowns on him, the will of the nation only can induce him to retain possession of the throne. If he is to be considered as the only obstacle to peace, he voluntarily makes the last sacrifice for France. He has, therefore, sent the prince of the Moskowa and the dukes of Vicenza and Tarento to Paris, to open the negotiation. The army may be assured, that the honor of the emperor will never be incompatible with the happiness of France."

The commissioners of the allied powers arrived, and the 20th of April was fixed for the departure. At noon, the travelling-carriages drew up in the court at the foot of the steps: the imperial guard formed in lines; and at one o'clock, the emperor quitting his apartments, passed through the thin remains of what once had been the most thronged and splendid court in Europe. He shook hands with them all, and, hastily descending the steps, passed the range of carriages, and approached the imperial guard. Indicating by a gesture that he desired to speak to them, silence instantly ensued; and amid the profound stillness of the whole assembly, Napoleon spoke as follows: "Soldiers of my old guard! I bid you farewell. During twenty years you have been my constant companions in the walks of honor and glory. In our late misfortunes, as well as in the days of our prosperity, you invariably proved yourselves models of courage and fidelity. With such men as you, our cause could never have been lost; but a prolonged civil war would have ensued, and the miseries of France would have been protracted. I have, therefore, sacrificed all our interests to those of the country

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I depart: you, my friends, will remain to serve France, whose happiness has always been the single subject of my concern, and will still continue the only object of my wishes. Do not mourn my fate: if I consent to live, it is that I may yet contribute to your glory. I will record the great achievements which we have performed together. Farewell, my companions! I should desire to press each one of you to my bosom: let me, at least, embrace your standard!" General Petit then advanced with the eagle: Napoleon received him in his arms, and kissed the standard. The deep silence was interrupted only by the occasional sobs of the soldiers. The emperor, by a powerful effort, subdued the emotion by which he was agitated, and then added, in a firm voice: "Once more, farewell, my old comrades! Let this last kiss be imprinted on all your hearts!" He then rushed from amid the group that surrounded him, threw himself into the carriage where General Bertrand had already taken his seat, and drove instantly off along the road to Lyons, escorted by the troops.

During his journey to Frejus, the emperor met with many evidences of the fickleness of popular feeling; for in some places he barely escaped with his life, where fifteen years before he was hailed as the savior of the country. In a moment of dejection, he said: "I now renounce the political world for ever; I shall henceforth feel no interest about anything that may happen. I will devote myself to science. I was right, never to esteem mankind: but France, and the French people —what ingratitude! I am disgusted with ambition, and wish to rule no longer." On the 28th of April, he sailed for Elba in an English frigate, and landed soon

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after at Porto Ferrajo. By a singular coincidence in time, the only heart in the world, perhaps, that truly loved, and could have soothed, the fallen emperor, ceased to beat, at the period when all for which he sacrificed her affection was snatched from his possession: the empress Josephine died at Malmaison on the 28th of May.

In March, 1815, all Europe was electrified by the intelligence that Napoleon had appeared in the gulf of St. Juan, on the 1st, and was marching in triumph to Paris. Accompanied by Bertrand, Drouot, and Cambronne, and about eleven hundred of the old guard, he had landed near Cannes, and advanced at once to Grenoble. Here, on the 7th, he was met by a considerable body of troops under the command of General Marchand. Advancing in front of them, he exclaimed, in a voice tremulous with feeling, "Comrades, do you know me again? Do you recognise me, my children? I am your emperor. Fire on me, if you wish; fire on your father: here is my bosom;" and he bared his breast. The appeal to the soldiers of Lodi and Austerlitz was irresistible. They rushed from their ranks, exclaiming, "Vive notre petit Caporal!" — "Vive l'Empereur!" — they threw themselves at his feet, and embraced his knees with transports of joy. He entered Grenoble in triumph, on the same day. This was conclusive of the success of his enterprise: the fate of France rested with the army, and the army had declared for Napoleon. At Lyons, the troops under Ney hailed the return of their old master with enthusiasm. The conduct of the various marshals who were sent to oppose him, will be related in the lives of Ney, Macdonald, and Soult. On the 19th, the king left Paris for

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Ghent; and on the evening of the following day, Napoleon entered the Tuileries. He was received with a delirium of joy by his followers, and experienced such evidences of affection from his friends, as induced him to speak, at St. Helena, of this day as having been the most delightful of his life.

Fouché was placed at the head of the police; Cambaceres made minister of justice; Carnot, minister of the interior; Caulaincourt, minister of foreign affairs; Maret, secretary of state; and Davoust, minister of war. Instantly the utmost activity began to prevail in every department. The allies openly prepared for another crusade against the disturber of Europe; and he saw that the appeal to arms must quickly be renewed. He hoped to be able to attack the English and Prussians before the more distant armies of Russia and Austria could reach the scene. With incredible industry and vigor, the ranks of the various regiments were filled up; the artillery was reorganized; military supplies of all kinds were accumulated; and every arrangement made that could give the cause of the emperor one more chance in the field of battle. No part of the life of this wonderful person will be regarded by posterity with greater wonder and admiration, than the energetic, earnest, and laborious "hundred days." On the 7th of June, the emperor set out to take command of the army.

The history of the campaign of Waterloo may be read at large in the life of Grouchy. Napoleon, after the defeat, arrived in Paris at four o'clock in the morning of the 21st, having travelled with such rapidity as to be the first authentic messenger of the disastrous intelligence.

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His prospects of power and greatness were now extinguished for ever: not even a hope remained. Every party, but especially his ancient enemies the Jacobins, imperiously demanded, what he executed on the 21st, a formal abdication: "My political life," he says, in that document, "is ended; and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon the Second, emperor of the French." He immediately retired to Malmaison, and, leaving there on the 29th of June, reached the harbor of Rochfort on the 3d of July. On the 13th, he decided to throw himself upon the hospitality of the British government; and addressed a letter to the prince regent, in which he said that, like Themistocles, he came to seat himself by the hearth of the British people. "I put myself," said he, "under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies." On the 14th of July, he embarked on board the Bellerophon, under Captain Maitland's command; and after being shown for a fortnight to the British people in Plymouth roads, he was transferred to the Northumberland, and landed at St. Helena on the 16th of October.

The career, of which the gigantic outline has thus been hastily sketched, was now terminated. The sun of victory and empire, which had once gilded the world with brightness so transcendent, was set in everlasting night. The few years that prolonged a life, whose light was gone for ever, it falls not within the scope of the present work to trace. In storm his days had past; in storm they closed.

On the 5th of May, 1821, in the midst of a tremendous tempest, which shook to its foundation the rocky

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isle in which he lay, the elements were dissolved which had held together upon the earth, the mightiest intellect, the strongest character, and the most imperious spirit, that were ever joined in the history of the world. Even at that last, solemn moment, his thoughts were with the battle and its stern interests: the last words that fell from the lips of Napoleon were, "*Tête—armée!*"

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JEAN-BAPTISTE JOURDAN.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE.

COUNT JOURDAN.

JEAN-BAPTISTE JOURDAN, the son of Roch Jourdan, a surgeon of Limoges, was born at that place on the 29th of April, 1762. At the age of sixteen, he became a soldier at the dépôt of the Isle of Rhe, and thence passed into the regiment of Auxerre, in which situation he served in America, until 1782. In 1791, at the head of a battalion of volunteers, he was sent to the army of the north, and, in 1793, became, successively, general of brigade, and general of division. In the beginning of October, Houchard, having been displaced, tried, and executed, Jourdan was placed at the head of the army of the north, while the allies, under Prince Cobourg, were engaged in the siege of Maubeuge. The youthful general advanced against the enemy with great vigor and skill, defeated them at the village of Wattignies, on the 16th of October, and compelled them to raise the siege of Maubeuge, and to retreat. Early in the May of the following year, however, he was superseded by Pichegru, and was ordered to proceed with a corps of fifteen thousand men, to reinforce the army of the Moselle. This force, amounting in all to forty thousand men, he led, in June, to the Sambre. At the head of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, he captured Charleroi, on the 25th of June;

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and, on the 26th, gained the important victory of Fleurus, which led to the speedy evacuation of Flanders by the allies. On the 10th of July, Pichegru and Jourdan united their armies at Brussels. On the 18th of September, 1794, Jourdan, at the head of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, attacked Clairfait's troops and drove them from all their positions on the Meuse. The French pursued them beyond the Roer, defeated them, on the 2d of October, at Ruremond, and drove them entirely beyond the Rhine. Jourdan entered Cologne on the 5th of October, and, on the 4th of November, captured Maestricht, and became master of nearly the whole of the left bank of the Rhine. On the 6th of September, 1795, Jourdan crossed the Rhine at Neuwied and Dusseldorf, and soon after invested Mayence, on the right bank, but being vigorously attacked by Clairfait, in the following month, was obliged to raise the siege and recross the river.

In the campaign of 1796, the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under Jourdan, crossed again to the right bank of the Rhine, at Dusseldorf and Neuwied, in July, drove Watersleben across the Maine, took Frankfort, upon which he levied a heavy contribution, and advanced along the river toward Bohemia, occupying Wurtzburg, Amberg, and Forchiem, and compelling Watersleben to retire behind the Raab, and at the same time the army of the Rhine, under Moreau, having crossed at Kehl, followed the archduke Charles through the black mountains, across the Lech, into Bavaria. The Austrian position was now central between these two armies, and the archduke Charles took advantage of his situation with something of the vigor and brilliance which Napoleon so often displayed in similar cir-

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cumstances. Leaving half of his army at Neuburg, in the middle of August, to observe, he marched with the other half, amounting to thirty thousand, to the relief of Watersleben, whom he joined on the Raab, on the 20th. With this united force, he advanced against Jourdan, defeated his right wing, commanded by Bernadotte, at Amberg, on the 24th, and signally routed the whole French army, at Wurtzburg, on the 3d of September, pursued them with irresistible spirit, and drove them behind the Rhine, which Jourdan recrossed on the 20th, at Bonn and Neuwied, having lost twenty thousand men during this retreat. Jourdan, finding that he had lost the confidence of the generals of the army, resigned his command, and Bournonville succeeded him. Jourdan returned to his native place, and, in 1797, was elected a member of the council of five hundred, and was twice made president of that body. Toward the close of 1798, he was appointed general-in-chief of the army of the Danube. On the 1st of March, 1799, he crossed the Rhine at Kehl and Huningen, and advanced into Bavaria; he passed the Danube, on the 12th, and took up a position between that river and Lake Constance, with his advanced guard, under Lefebvre, in Ostrach, his centre at Pfullendorf, his right at Barnsdorf, and his left, under St. Cyr, at Mengen. He was attacked by the archduke Charles, on the 21st and 22d of March, and compelled to retreat to Stockach, where, on the 26th, his left, under St. Cyr, was cut off from the rest, and the whole army completely defeated. Jourdan immediately retreated, through the Black Forest, to the Rhine, which he recrossed at Old Brissach and Kehl.

In 1800, Jourdan was appointed inspector-general

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of infantry and cavalry, and governor-general of Piedmont. Sixteen years afterward, the king of Sardinia sent him his portrait, as an approbation of his conduct in the administration of his kingdom. In 1802, he was made a councillor of state, and general-in-chief of the army of Italy; and, in 1804, he was created a marshal of the empire, and grand eagle of the legion of honor. In 1806, he passed into the service of Joseph Bonaparte, king of Naples, and, when that prince, in 1808, exchanged the throne of Naples for that of Spain, Jourdan became the major-general of his armies, and, in that capacity, made the campaign of 1808 and 1809, in the peninsula. On the morning before the battle of Talavera, on the 28th of July, King Joseph requested the opinions of Jourdan and Victor, whether he should give battle. The former advised him to decline an engagement, and to wait the result of Soult's operations on the rear of the English; Victor advised an immediate attack: and the result proved the soundness of Jourdan's judgment. In 1811, Jourdan was made governor of Madrid. In October, 1812, Joseph offered to Jourdan the command of the army of the south, after Soult's retirement from that region, but he declined the perilous honor: and, continued with the army, under Joseph, until the rout of Vittoria, on the 21st of June, 1813, where he had the misfortune to lose his marshal's baton, which was captured by the eighty-seventh, British regiment. In 1814, having declared in favor of the king, he was created a knight of the order of St. Louis, governor of the fifteenth military division, and, in the same year, was made a count. Upon the return of Napoleon, in 1815, Jourdan was made governor of Besançon, and received the superior

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command of the sixth military division. After the fatal termination of Waterloo, Jourdan pronounced in favor of Louis XVIII.; and received the patronage of that monarch. Upon Moncey's refusal to preside at the trial of Ney, Jourdan, by seniority, succeeded to that post, and joined in acknowledging the incompetency of the tribunal to take cognizance of the case. In 1816, he was made a peer of France, and, in 1819, was appointed governor of the seventh military division. In 1830, he was, for some time, one of the commissioners in the department of foreign affairs, and in the same year governor of the Invalides. He died, at Paris, on the 23d of November, 1833, in the seventy-second year of his age.

Jourdan's capacity, as a general, was not remarkable: "the emperor," says O'Meara, "spoke of him as one, of whose military abilities he had a poor opinion." But his spirit and daring were of an elevated tone, and he was ever guided by noble and generous sentiments. One day, at St. Helena, Napoleon took up a political almanac, containing a list of the marshals, whose characters he passed in review, making remarks about each. When he came to Marshal Jourdan, he dwelt for some time on the subject, and concluded by saying: "This is one who has assuredly been very ill treated by me; it was natural, therefore, to conclude that he would be incensed against me, but I have learned, with pleasure, that he has behaved with moderation since my fall. He has given an example of that elevation of mind which serves to distinguish men, and does honor to their character. However, he was a true patriot, and that explains many things."

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JOHN SERRURIER.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, MAY 19TH, 1804.

COUNT SERRURIER.

CONVERSING once, at St. Helena, Napoleon related an anecdote respecting the influence of what might seem an untoward chance, in elevating the destinies of men. "Sérrurier, and the younger Hedouville, while journeying on foot, toward Spain, for the purpose of emigrating, were stopped by a patrol. Hedouville, being the younger and more active of the two, cleared the frontier, thought himself very fortunate, and past a life of inaction and obscurity in Spain. Sérrurier, compelled to return into the interier, bewailed his unhappy fate, and became a marshal of France." He continued, however, uninspired by the energy as well as by the principles of the revolutionary armies, and, at last, owed his elevation to the respectability of his character rather than to the brilliance of his services.

John Mathieu Philibert Sérrurier, was born at Laon, on the 8th of December, 1742. He became lieutenant in the militia of Laon, in 1755, and served in the campaign of Hanover, in 1758: he afterward became an ensign in Mazarin's regiment of infantry, and served in Germany, in 1759 and 1760. A lieutenant in the regiment of Beauce in 1767, he advanced to the rank

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of captain in 1782, and became a chevalier of the order of St. Louis in the same year, and a major in 1789 He advanced to the rank of brigadier-general, in 1793, and served, in the following year, in the army of the eastern Pyrénées. In 1795, he was made a general of division, and entered the army of Italy, under General Scherer. He here distinguished himself at the battle of Loano, by which Scherer recovered the positions which Kellermann had lost: on the 21st of November, 1795, Massena and Augereau had attacked the enemy's posts, in the left and centre, with success, and, on the 24th, Sérrurier, "who, by his able manœuvres," says Napoleon, in his memoirs, "had kept in check troops which were double the number of his own, without sustaining any material loss," advanced from the heights of Ormea, and drove the Piedmontese army into the camp of Ceva, capturing the greater part of their artillery, and a large number of prisoners. He continued to serve, in the same rank, when Napoleon took command of the army in March, 1796. "He retained," says Napoleon, "all the formality and strictness of a major; was very severe in point of discipline, and passed for an aristocrat; in consequence of which opinion, he ran great risks in the midst of the camps, especially during the first few years." Under Napoleon he appears to greater advantage, than in any other circumstances: as will be seen in the account of the Italian campaigns, his courage chiefly gained the battle of Mondovi; his rapid march from Mantua, secured the battle of Castiglione; intrusted with the siege of Mantua, he displayed much vigilance and skill, and, at last, had the honor of seeing the Marshal Wurmser, and his staff, file off before him at the sur-

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render of the city. After the campaign of the Tagliamento, he had the honorable commission of carrying to the directory the colors taken from Prince Charles.

During the campaign in Italy, in 1799, under Scherer, Sérrurier commanded a division of the left wing of the army; and, on the 30th of March, having crossed the Adige, at Polo, with seven thousand men, he was attacked, by Kray, near Verona, with fifteen thousand men, and routed with a loss of nearly three thousand men killed and made prisoners. Soon after, Moreau succeeded Scherer, and the impetuous Suwarrow appeared at the head of the enemy. On the night of the 25th of April, 1799, while the French army were concentrated on the Adige, Wukassowich suddenly passed at Brivio, and Sérrurier, who formed the extreme left with eight thousand men, was completely surrounded and cut off by a force not less than twenty thousand strong. He immediately took a strong position at Verderio, determined to maintain it to the last moment; but, being assailed on all sides, and seeing no possibility of extrication, he surrendered, on the 26th, with seven thousand men.

On the formation of the consular government, in 1799, Sérrurier became a member of the senate, and was elected vice-president of it at the beginning of 1802, and pretor, in 1803. He was appointed governor of the *Hotel des Invalides*, and a marshal of the empire, in 1804; and became, in the following year, grand-eagle of the legion of honor, and grand-dignitary of the order of the crown of iron. He was created count, in 1808; and received, the next year, the general command of the national guard of Paris. In 1814, he was made a peer of France, and commander of the order of St. Louis,

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and, in 1818, received the grand-cross. He died, at Paris, on the 21st of December, 1819, at the age of seventy-seven years. "Sérrurier," says Napoleon, "was a brave man, of great personal intrepidity, but not fortunate. He had less energy than Augereau and Massena, but excelled them in the morality of his character, the soundness of his political opinions, and the strict integrity which he observed in all his intercourse." On another occasion he pronounced him an honest, trust-worthy man, but an indifferent general.

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JOHN LANNES.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, MAY 19, 1804.

DUKE OF MONTEBELLO.

JOHN LANNES — the romantic heroism of whose early career obtained for him the title of "*The Orlando of the army*," and whose later achievements raised him into the first rank of military fame — was the son of John Lannes and of Cecilia Fouraignan, his wife, and was born at Lectoure, the 11th of April, 1769. He entered the army as sublieutenant in 1792, and became successively lieutenant, captain, and major, in the army of the eastern Pyrenees, up to 1795. In 1796, he entered the army of Italy. It was at the village of Dego, during the battle of Millesimo, on the 14th of April of that year, that Lannes, then a lieutenant-colonel, first attracted by his courage and daring the attention of Napoleon, who made him a colonel on the spot. At the second battle at the same village, on the following day, he again distinguished himself by his bravery and coolness. During that campaign, his reputation for gallantry rose to the highest pitch, and at Lodi, Bassano, and Governolo, where he was wounded, and still more strikingly at Arcola, he attracted the admiration of the whole army by his brilliant and reckless daring.

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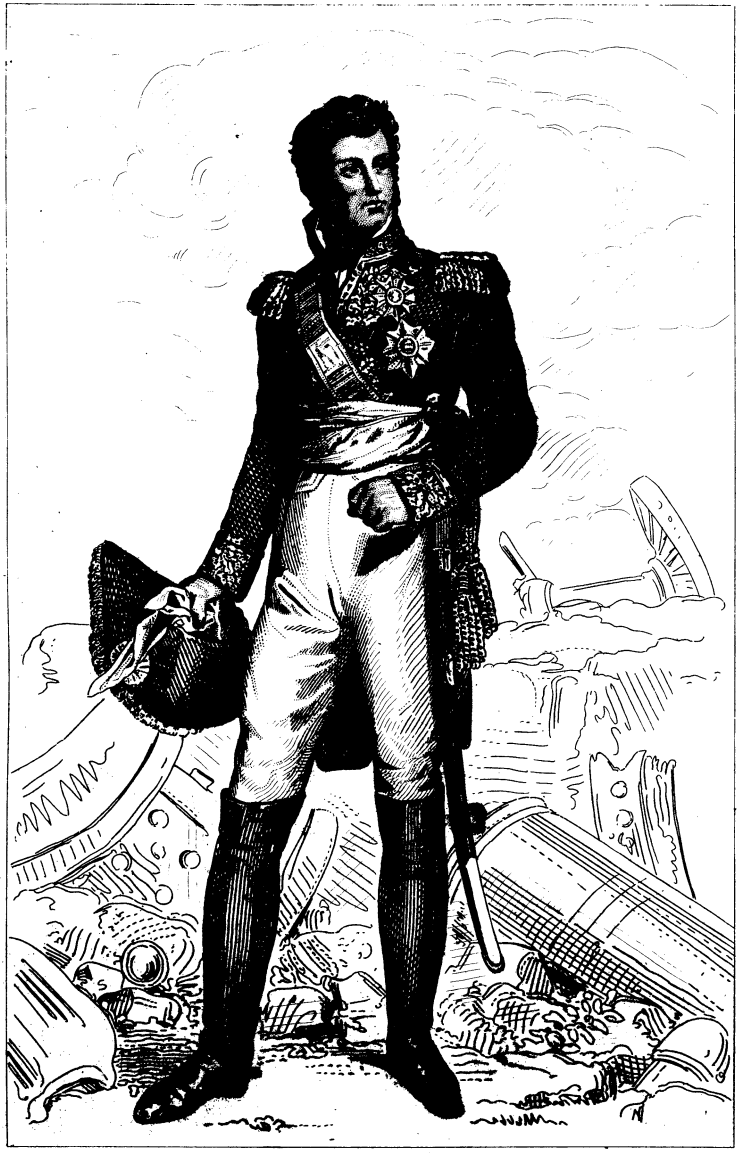

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In 1797, he was made a general of brigade, and accompanied Napoleon to Paris, and shared the personal intimacy and constant association of the hero of Italy. He was one of the four persons who accompanied Napoleon in February, 1798, when he visited the coast at Boulogne, &c., to examine the preparations that had been made for the invasion of England. He accompanied Napoleon into Egypt; and though his impatient temper and frankness led him at times into intemperate exhibitions of disgust at the service to which the army had been led, his conduct at the battle of Aboukir greatly elevated his reputation as a soldier and a commander. In 1799, he was created a general of division, and returned to France with Napoleon. At the great fête of the 20th Pluviose (10th February, 1800), at Paris, in commemoration of the death of Washington, and in honor of the victory of Aboukir, Lannes was honored with the presentation of the seventy-two flags taken from the Turks in that engagement. At the head of a great detachment of cavalry, he proceeded in company with Napoleon to the hotel of the Invalides, then the temple of Mars, where he presented the flags to the minister of war with an appropriate discourse: Berthier made a reply, and M. de Fontanes then delivered his celebrated *éloge* on Washington. In the same year Lannes was appointed commandant and inspector of the consular guard; and when the army of reserve entered Italy, he commanded the advanced-guard. The operations in that year about Milan, under Napoleon, in which Lannes won his marshal's baton and his dukedom, afterward conferred, derive so great a share of their glory from the military genius of this youthful soldier, who now rose to the highest rank of merit and

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fame, that the campaign of Marengo is properly introduced in this place.

CAMPAIGN OF MARENGO.

On the 7th of January, 1800, the republic having then two armies in the field engaged against Austria, one in Germany and the other in Italy, the formation of an army of reserve in France, which might act in support of either of the others, was decreed by the consuls; and as the civil character of these magistrates was incompatible with military power, the command-in-chief was given nominally to Berthier, minister of war, who set out from Paris to take the head of the army on the 2d of April. To prevent the alarm of Austria from being excited by these new levies, Napoleon determined to act in such a manner that the enemy should believe that the pretence of forming this army was a mere device to impose upon the world. Accordingly, while the formation of this corps was announced with great parade, it was declared on all occasions that its point of concentration was Dijon. The foreign spies hastened thither, and found there but five or six thousand conscripts and retired soldiers, many of them maimed, and half the number unclothed. The contrast between this exhibition and the magnificent language which the first consul took care to employ, excited ridicule throughout the continent. "The French," it was said, "seek to dupe us; they wish to make us realize the fable of the dog who dropped his prey for the shadow." Europe was full of caricatures: one of these represented a boy of twelve years of age, and an invalid with a wooden leg, and under which was written, "*Bonaparte's army*

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of reserve." Meanwhile, the real army of reserve was secretly collecting in a great number of distinct places, ready to be marched upon the point of rendezvous at the shortest notice. It had been Napoleon's original plan to lead the army into Germany, and to co-operate with Moreau in striking a deadly blow at the heart of the Austrian monarchy; but the jealousy of that commander, and the disasters which had been met with in Italy, determined the direction of his interference to the latter country. In April, Melas, the Austrian general-in-chief, had overrun and occupied all Piedmont and Sardinia: the greater part of his forces were engaged, under Ott, in besieging Massena in Genoa; another large body under Elnitz, were pressing Suchet at the mouth of the Var; while the residue, not exceeding in all eighteen thousand men, were around Turin and in the neighboring cities. Switzerland, at this time in possession of the French, gave them the advantage of a very advanced and central position; and Napoleon, with that union of brilliant invention and profound science which marked the great conceptions of his mind, formed the design to penetrate into Italy upon the rear of Melas, get upon the line of his communications, and cut him off from Austria: then he would be obliged to fight with his back toward France, and under circumstances in which defeat would be utter ruin, while Napoleon, if worsted, had his communications uninterrupted. Such a movement, also, would deliver Suchet, and raise the siege of Genoa, or else compel Melas to fight with a very inferior force. In the execution of this felicitous design, Moncey, with sixteen thousand men detached from the army of the Rhine, was to cross Mont St. Gothard, and descend by Lake

1800.

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Maggiore, forming the left wing of the army; General Thureau, commanding in the Alps, was to cross Mont Cenis, and form the right wing; while the centre, under the first consul, was to pass the Great St. Bernard, and advance to Milan. Thus sixty thousand men would suddenly appear in Lombardy, in the rear of Melas's positions in Piedmont. In the latter part of April, the various corps from La Vendée, from Paris, and from various other points, forming the true army of reserve, concentrated about Geneva and Lausanne: about two millions of rations of biscuits, prepared at Lyons, were despatched to Villeneuve on the lake.

On the 6th of May, 1800, the first consul left Paris, reviewed the mock army at Dijon, arrived at Geneva, on the 8th, where he was visited by Necker, and, on the 13th, reviewed at Lausanne the real vanguard of the army, commanded by General Lannes, and consisting of six regiments of chosen and experienced troops. This corps, followed by other divisions, having among their commanders, Victor and Murat, and forming in all an army of thirty-six thousand men, moved then at once upon St. Pierre, at the foot of St. Bernard, and preparations were made for crossing. In transporting the artillery, the carriages were taken to pieces, and, together with the ammunition, put into prepared cases, were placed upon mules; and, the guns were fastened by their trunnions, into a hundred trunks of trees which had been hollowed out for the purpose, and these were dragged with ropes by the soldiers. Two half companies of artillery artificers were stationed at St. Pierre and St. Remi, at the foot of the mountains, on either side, to dismount and remount the carriages; and, so ably were all these arrangements carried out under Mar-

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mont, who commanded the artillery, that no delay was occasioned in the march of the army. Napoleon slept at the convent of St. Maurice, on the 16th of May, and the whole army passed the St. Bernard, on the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th, about ten thousand passing each day; Napoleon himself crossed on the 20th. The advanced guard, under Lannes, having passed Aosta, reached Chatillon on the 17th, where it routed an Austrian corps of four thousand men; and, all the difficulties of the passage seemed overcome, when the army was checked by the guns of Fort Bard. This fortress is situated between Aosta and Ivrea, on a hillock, in the interval between two mountains; and, the only passage lay through the town of Bard, which is walled, and is commanded by the fire of the fort. The whole army was brought to a stand; Napoleon repaired to the spot, and, mounting the rock Albaredo, upon the left mountain, reconnoitred the place and discovered that the town itself might be taken. Accordingly, at night, on the 25th, Dufour, with a demi-brigade, scaled the wall and got possession of the town; the fort kept up a fire of grape-shot during the night, but, at length, from consideration to the inhabitants of the town, desisted. The infantry and cavalry then passed, one by one, along the path which Napoleon had climbed, and which was accustomed to be used only by goat-herds; and the ingenuity of the engineers secured the passage of the guns. During the night, the road through the town was covered with litter, and the pieces, concealed under straw and branches, were dragged by the men, with ropes, in profound silence; and the whole artillery had thus passed within pistol-shot of the fort, while the officer in command of it wrote to Melas, that he had

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seen thirty thousand men, and three or four thousand horses, and a numerous staff, pass the fort, but, that he might rely upon it, not a single gun should go by. On the 24th, Lannes, with the vanguard, arrived before Ivrea, routed a body of five thousand Austrians there, and drove them upon Romano, where they took up a position to cover the Turin, the headquarters of the Austrian army. On the 26th, Lannes again attacked this force, overthrew, and drove them upon Turin, and advanced to Chivasso, on the Po, where the vanguard was reviewed and harangued by Napoleon, on the 28th. The whole army, with its artillery, arrived at Ivrea, on the 26th and 27th. To deceive Melas, some demonstrations were made of a design to pass the Po at Chivasso, and then the army moved down the left bank of the Po, to seize Milan, and other cities of Lombardy. On the 31st, Napoleon moved rapidly upon the Tessino, which, after a warm engagement, by Adjutant-General Gerard, with an Austrian corps of observation, on the left bank, was passed; and, on the 2d of June, the first consul entered Milan amid the unbounded astonishment and delight of the inhabitants, and immediately invested the citadel. On the 30th of May, the advanced guard, under Lannes, made a forced march on Pavia, which they entered on the 1st of June. On the 4th, Duhesme's division entered Lodi, and on the following day occupied Cremona, and soon after arrived at Mantua. On the 27th of May, Murat had advanced to Vercelli, and, on the 6th, he arrived before Placenza, and seized the *tête-dupont*, and the boats at that place. Napoleon remained at Milan from the 2d to the 8th of June, during which time, Moncey's corps of fifteen thousand men, from the army of the Rhine, which had

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reached Belinzona on the 31st of May, arrived, and were reviewed by him: he then set off for Pavia, which he entered on the 9th of June. Meanwhile, Melas, upon the first alarm of Napoleon's designs upon Italy, had issued orders for all the forces in Piedmont to concentrate around Turin. Elnitz broke up from the Var, about the 27th of May: and, on the 5th of June, the garrison at Genoa capitulated, by which Ott's division was set at liberty: these all hastened to join Melas. On the other hand, Suchet's division, and the garrison of Genoa, under Massena, which amounted to nine thousand men, and, which, by the terms of the capitulation, were to be conducted to Voltri and Antibes, were now at liberty to co-operate with Napoleon. On the northwest, General Tureau, having taken possession of Mount Cenis, on the 22d of May, occupied a position between Susa and Turin: and, on the 1st of June, Fort Bard, which had been invested by Chabran's division, surrendered. About the same time, Melas abandoned Turin, and appeared to be about taking position at Alessandria. Napoleon then proceeded to concentrate the various divisions on Stradella, on the right bank of the Po, to cut off Melas from the road to Mantua. On the 7th, Murat passed the Po, at Nocetta, and entered Placenza; on the next day he defeated an Austrian corps which had been sent to attack him, and made two thousand prisoners, and then moved upon Stradella. On the 6th, Lannes, with the advanced-guard, moved from Pavia to cross the Po at Belgiojoso; and, on the evening of the 8th, when the van and a part of the main army had crossed, the Austrian vanguard attacked them and were routed, and Lannes, at night, took up a position before Casteggio and Mon-

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tebello, which the Austrian army, commanded by General Ott, now occupied. On the morning of the 9th, Lannes, in position, with eight thousand men, found himself in the presence of an Austrian force of thirty battalions, or eighteen thousand men, Ott's grenadiers, the flower of the Austrian army, forming part of it. As Victor's division, which had crossed the river, was not more than three leagues off, and might be expected soon to arrive, Lannes had no inducement to attack, but received, with ready spirit, the battle which the Austrian commander brought on at daybreak. Ordering Watrin to maintain the centre, on the road to Tortona, where the enemy's attack began, he advanced against a heavy fire to turn the heights on which their right rested, but after carrying them in the first instance, he was driven back by some troops which Ott brought up. "The battle was bloody," says Napoleon, in his memoirs; "Lannes covered himself with glory; his troops performed prodigies of intrepidity." About midday, a part of Victor's division reached the field; the contest was renewed against the centre and Austrian right, with brilliant success, until Ott, feeling the importance of the engagement, advanced all his reserves and again repulsed the French columns. The Austrians fought desperately; they were still proud of the successes which they had obtained in the previous campaign, and they felt that their situation laid them under a necessity to conquer. "In my division," said Lannes, afterward, "the bones were cracking like a shower of hail falling on a sky-light." At length, the arrival of the rest of Victor's division gave the French a decided superiority, and the enemy retreated. Napoleon, in his memoirs, has generously given to his generals all

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the glory of this gallant success. "The first consul," he remarks, "on hearing of the enemy's attack on the French vanguard, immediately hastened to the field; but, by the time he reached there, the victory had been gained: the enemy had lost three thousand killed, and six thousand prisoners. The field of battle was entirely strewn with the dead. General Lannes was covered with blood: the troops, conscious that they had behaved well, though worn out with fatigue, were intoxicated with joy." The confidence inspired by this well-won victory at the onset, had much to do with the unflinching courage with which the same troops sustained the onset at Marengo; and Lannes's merit was remembered and perpetuated in the ducal title which he afterward received.

Meanwhile, intelligence had been received of the fall of Genoa; and no special cause for haste now existing, Napoleon remained in position at Stradella on the 10th, 11th, and 12th, securing his retreat by two bridges across the Po. He sent messengers, also, to Suchet, who had now resumed the offensive against Elnitz, and had been joined by the garrison of Genoa at Voltri, to march upon the Scrivia by the pass of Cadibona. On the 11th, Desaix, with his aides-de-camp, Rapp and Savary, having just returned from Egypt, and performed quarantine at Toulon, arrived at headquarters at Montebello. Of all the military companions and followers by whom Napoleon was surrounded, he spoke of none with so much regard and respect as of Desaix. He immediately gave him command of the divisions of Boudet and Monnier. Melas's headquarters at this time were at Alessandria, and there seemed to be three courses open to him, any one of which he might pursue:

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He might advance and give battle; he might cross the Po above the Sesia, pass the Tessino rapidly, and reach Milan by a shorter way, before Napoleon could arrive there; or he might retire upon Genoa and the English squadron under Lord Keith, which was in that bay. Napoleon's plans had to be made in reference to all these contingencies. To meet the first, General Laharpe, who formed part of the force which Moncey had conducted into Italy, was ordered to occupy the line of the Tessino with ten thousand men, which would at least be sufficient to delay the enemy till Napoleon could recross the Po and appear before Milan. The manœuvres which were then directed, of the several divisions under Napoleon's immediate command, had reference to the twofold object of intercepting Melas's march toward the south, if he should attempt such a movement, and of receiving battle, if he should advance to deliver it. On the 12th, the French army advanced to the Scrivia: Lannes, with the divisions of Watrin and Mainoni, forming the right wing, was at Castel-Nuovo; Desaix, with the divisions of Boudet and Monnier, formed the centre at Ponte-Curone; Victor, at the head of the divisions of Gardanne and Chambairhac, was on the left bank of the Scrivia, in advance of Tortona; the cavalry, under Murat, were between Ponte-Curone and Tortona, with a vanguard beyond Tortona under Kellermann; and headquarters were at Voghera. On the 13th, at daybreak, Napoleon passed the Scrivia: the light cavalry traversing the immense plain of Marengo, found no enemy, and it was confidently concluded that Melas had retired to Genoa. Desaix, with Boudet's division, was pushed forward upon the extreme right, with orders to observe the high road lead-

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ing from Novi to Alessandria; Lannes advanced to a position near Marengo; Victor entered Marengo, and sent scouts to the Bormida, who reported no intelligence of the Austrian army; and Napoleon feared that they had escaped him. He himself, in the evening of the 13th, set out to return to Voghera to receive intelligence; but the Scrivia having suddenly swollen too much to allow a passage, he fixed his headquarters at Torre-di-Garofalo, between Tortona and Alessandria, and there passed the night. During this time, Melas, after being distracted by a variety of counsels, had decided to advance and meet Napoleon in the great plain of Marengo, a situation well adapted to the action of the numerous Austrian cavalry; and accordingly, at daybreak on the 14th, the Austrians, amounting in all to thirty-one thousand men, and comprising twenty thousand infantry, seven thousand cavalry, and two hundred pieces of cannon, defiled by the three bridges of the Bormida, and advanced with impetuosity upon the village of Marengo. The whole French army on the left bank of the Scrivia amounted to twenty-nine thousand, and the positions of the various corps on the morning of the 14th were as follows: Victor, with the divisions of Gardanne and Chambairhac, the former of six battalions, the latter of twelve, and together amounting to nine thousand men, occupied the village of Marengo, the former division being advanced in front of the village; Lannes, with Watrin's division of five thousand men in twelve battalions, was a little in the rear of the right of Marengo; Desaix, with Boudet's division of five thousand, was on the road to Novi; and Napoleon, with the reserves, comprising Monnier's division of four thousand men in eight battalions, which were composed

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of the brigades of Cara St. Cyr and Shilt, together with the battalion of the infantry consular guard of eight hundred grenadiers, commanded by Soulés, and the cavalry guard of four hundred under Bessières, was at Torre-di-Garofalo; while the cavalry, under Murat, consisting of the brigades of Kellermann, Champeaux, and Rivaud, and amounting to about three thousand, were ready to act wherever their presence might be most required.

The attack on Marengo began with great fury at an early hour: Gardanne's brigade was driven into the village, and an unequal contest sustained by Victor for several hours, until his division, being broken and thrown into disorder, retired in confusion across the plains to San Juliano, raising the cry of "Tout est perdu!" Lannes, on the right, behind Marengo, gained some slight advantage; but when Melas, with the Austrian centre, established himself in Marengo, Lannes being exposed on the left, was obliged to fall back. Meanwhile, Napoleon, as soon as he became apprized that Melas was advancing to give battle, sent orders to Desaix, who was half-a-day's march off to the left, to return with haste to San Juliano; and he himself advanced with the reserves into the plain. It was about ten o'clock when he appeared between San Juliano and Marengo: Victor's division, on the left, were fleeing in disorder across the interval between the villages; Lannes's corps, drawn up in squares *en echelon*, were very slowly retreating, with admirable order and coolness, while Kellermann and Champeaux were covering them, as ably as possible from the charges of the Austrian cavalry. The spectacle of Napoleon surrounded by his staff, and two hundred horse-grenadiers with

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their high fur-caps, in the midst of the plain, reinspired the courage of the fugitives, and they rallied upon the village of San Juliano. Napoleon immediately directed the brigade of Cara St. Cyr of five battalions, belonging to Monnier's division of reserve upon the extreme right, to Castel-Ceriolo, to outflank the entire left of the enemy: he then despatched the infantry guard of eight hundred grenadiers, to occupy a good position about five hundred toises to the right of Lannes, while with Shilt's demi-brigade he himself advanced to support Lannes. Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon Desaix's corps arrived, and Napoleon ordered him to take position on the road in front of San Juliano. Melas, believing the victory gained and being extremely fatigued, returned to Alessandria about two o'clock, leaving Zach, the chief of his staff, to continue the pursuit. Napoleon presently rode up to Desaix: "Well," said the latter, "affairs are going on badly; the battle is lost: I can only secure the retreat. Is this not so?" "Quite the reverse," replied the first consul; "to me the result of the battle has never for a moment been doubtful. Those masses which you see in disorder on your right and left, are marching to form themselves in your rear. The battle is gained."* Instant measures were taken to give effect to this view. All the cavalry of the army were concentrated in advance of San Juliano; Lannes's and Victor's corps were re-formed on the right; and Desaix, with Boudet's division, took position on their left. Napoleon rode along the line, and called out, "Soldiers! we have now retired far

* This is the version of the conversation given by Napoleon to Las Cases at St. Helena: Bourrienne represents Desaix as saying to Napoleon, that one battle had been lost, but that time enough remained to gain another.

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enough: you know that I am always in the habit of sleeping on the field of battle." This inspired the utmost enthusiasm, and the battle recommenced with great ardor. The enemy's tirailleurs were speedily driven back upon their centre; but a formidable column of six thousand Austrian grenadiers advanced upon the left, and reached the village of San Juliano. Napoleon sent orders to Desaix to charge this corps: the latter immediately advanced at the head of two hundred troopers, but just as he had given the word to charge, he was shot in the breast by a ball, and soon after expired. "Tell the first consul, that my only regret in dying is, that I have not yet done enough to live in the memory of posterity," were the last words of that gallant spirit, of whom Napoleon said, that he was the man whom he esteemed most worthy of being his lieutenant. The terrible column still pressed on; but they had by this time advanced so far, that their flank was even with the French cavalry in the centre. Kellermann* saw the auspicious moment, and at the head of eight hundred heavy horse charged furiously through the middle of the left flank. The column thus severed in the midst fell into disorder, and in half an hour was dispersed, General Zach and all his staff being made prisoners. This charge of Kellermann's decided the day Lannes's and Victor's corps advanced with the utmost intrepidity, and after a severe engagement, retook Marengo: on the right, Cara St. Cyr was nearer the bridge of Bormida than the enemy were, and an alarm was created among the Austrians that their retreat was cut off. Their cavalry retreated with precipitation, and the artillery, finding the bridges clogged up, plunged into

* The younger, son of the marshal.

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the stream, and twenty pieces having stuck fast in the mud, fell into the hands of the French. Melas rallied the troops on the left bank of the Bormida; but everything that remained on the right bank was captured. In this fierce and protracted engagement, the Austrian loss was seven thousand killed and wounded, three thousand prisoners, twenty pieces of artillery, and eight standards; and the French loss about the same in killed and wounded, and about one thousand made prisoners. But with Suchet in great force upon his rear, and with a French army of thirty thousand between him and Austria, besides those who had taken part in the engagement on the plains of Marengo, such a battle was ruin to Melas. At daybreak on the following morning, a flag of truce arrived from Alessandria, with proposals for an armistice; and on the following day a convention was signed, by which the Austrian army were allowed to retire beyond Mantua, and all the fortified places of Piedmont, Lombardy, Ferrara, and Bologna, namely, the fortresses of Genoa, Coni, Ceva, Savona, Turin, Alessandria, Tortona, Milan, Pizzighittone, Placentia, Arona, and Urbia, were given up to the French army. Thus the result of Napoleon's admirable combinations was, that a single battle fought upon the banks of the Bormida, with an army of thirty thousand men, amounted instantly to the reconquest and reoccupation of all Italy. Napoleon soon after returned by Milan, Turin, Mont Cenis, and Lyons, to Paris, where he arrived unexpectedly on the 2d of July, in the middle of the night. The first intelligence of the battle was brought by a commercial express, who had left the field between ten and twelve o'clock on the morning of the 14th, just as the first consul was coming on the field of

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battle: he reported the defeat of the army; and when the news of the victory, and of such results from it, arrived, the astonishment and delight of the people of Paris knew no bounds. The next day after Napoleon's arrival, as the news spread through the capital, all the city and suburbs ran together to the Tuileries, in hopes of seeing him whose genius and toils had won such glory for France; and in the evening there was a general illumination.

There is no campaign of Napoleon's, perhaps, in which the brilliance of his military conceptions, and the sagacity of his dispositions, are more admirable; none in which, by the force of profound plans, such immense effects were so perfectly accomplished by so moderate an expenditure of means. But, while the campaign is admitted to be a great one, attempts have been made to deprive Napoleon of the glory of the battle, and to transfer it to Desaix and to Kellermann. Such an attempt, in this case, must proceed upon an ignorance of the principles upon which the merit and fame of a commander-in-chief are made up. Unquestionably, the victory was owing to the opportune arrival of Desaix: but, Desaix arrived at the point where he did in obedience to the express orders of Napoleon. Equally undeniable is it, that Kellermann's charge was, at last, decisive of the day: but the ability to make that charge on Kellermann's part was due to the advanced central position in which the cavalry had been placed by Napoleon. Orders to repel the column by a charge, had gone forth from the commander-in-chief; and, if Kellermann charged without express orders, he acted only in accordance with obvious and inevitable duty. Desaix and Kellermann deserve all the credit that they have

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received; but the united lustre of their performances should be reflected upon Napoleon. An attentive consideration, however, of the events of this great day, would suggest that among the generals and inferior officers, the true hero of the field was neither Desaix nor Kellermann, but Lannes. His retreat, in perfect order, across that vast open plain, occupying three hours in retiring three quarters of a league, with the whole Austrian army upon him, after Victor's rout, and exposed to the grape-shot of eighty pieces of cannon, saved the army from irretrievable confusion, and deserves to rank among the greatest of military achievements.

On the 14th of September, in the same year, Lannes was married to Louisa Antoinette de Guéheneuc, a young and beautiful girl of the highest character for virtue and worth; and, in the following year, he was sent ambassador to Lisbon. On the 19th of May, 1804, he was created one of the marshals of the empire, and a grand-officer of the legion of honor; and, in 1805, was decorated with the grand-eagle and made a commander of the order of the crown of iron. As commander of the fifth corps of the army, he made the campaign of Austerlitz, in 1805, and of Jena, in 1806; and, in both, distinguished himself as one of the ablest and most active of the great officers of the army. At the head of the same corps, he accompanied the army into Poland in 1807, and his heroic conduct at Pultusk, is one of the jewels of his fame. Soon after he fell ill, and when the emperor arrived at Pultusk, he found him in so bad a condition that he directed his removal to Warsaw, and gave the command of the corps to Savary. Lannes, on this account, was not present at

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Eylau; but he recovered in time to join the emperor by the 10th of June, 1807, and to take part in the battles of Guttstadt and Heilsberg. He took command of a corps formed of the troops returned from the siege of Dantzig, and of the brigade of grenadiers; and again displayed, at Friedland, that union of ability with unflinching courage, which threw so peculiar and splendid a lustre on his name. In 1808, Lannes was created duke of Montebello; and received the command of the thirteenth and fifteenth corps of the army of Spain, and accompanied the emperor to Bayonne and Vittoria, where they arrived on the 8th of November, in 1808. In crossing the mountains, near Tolosa, Lannes's horse fell, injuring him severely, and he was left at Vittoria; here he was cured by being wrapped in the warm skin of a sheep just killed, and, in two days, resumed his military post. At the head of La Grange's division, and Colbert's light cavalry, he took an important part in the operations that led to the victory of Tudela, on the 23d of November. But he again became ill, and was obliged to remain at Tudela in a suffering state for several weeks. At length, having recovered, he was ordered to take command of the siege of Saragossa, which Moncey's and Mortier's corps were languidly prosecuting: he, accordingly, arrived before that place and took the supreme command of both corps on the 22d of January, 1809. The influence of his firm and vigorous character, says Napier, was immediately perceptible: he restored the declining discipline of the army, and pressed the siege with infinite resolution. This city, so celebrated for the intrepidity and ardor with which it was besieged, and the heroic constancy with which it was defended, capitu-

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lated, to Lannes, on the 20th of February. The marshal, according to the duchess d'Abrantes, who thought her husband's monopoly of plunder invaded, sullied the purity of his fame by the pillage of the jewels of the church of our Lady of the Pillar, to the amount of a million of dollars: the priests offered, at first, one third of the treasure, but Lannes seized the whole and carried it off to France. Immediately after the opening of the campaign about Eckmuhl, Lannes joined Napoleon; and the two divisions of Gudin and Morand were formed into a temporary corps of which the command was given to him. The subsequent operations of the army bring us to the close of Lannes's splendid career; and, as Aspern and Essling will always be remembered principally as the scene where a sublime death terminated a life of transcendent brightness, the campaign to which that battle belongs may here be described.

CAMPAIGN OF ASPERN.

The emperor opened the German campaign of 1809 by taking command of his army in Bavaria on the 18th of April, and proceeded at once to rectify the false dispositions of Berthier, whose orders had been so absurd, that Napoleon wrote to him from Donaworth, on the 17th: "What you have done appears so strange, that were I not satisfied of your friendship, I should think you were betraying me." With a rapidity and ability which exceeded, perhaps, anything in his life, he concentrated his army on the Abens, near Plaffenhoffen, on the 19th; on the 20th, attacked and defeated the Austrian centre at Abensberg, killing eight thousand men, and completely separating their left wing from the main

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army; on the 21st, routed the left wing at Landshut, destroying six thousand men, and capturing twenty-five pieces of cannon, with an immense quantity of ammunition and baggage; and wheeling round from that position with the rapidity of lightning, defeated the archduke at Eckmuhl on the 22d, inflicting a loss of five thousand men killed and wounded, seven thousand made prisoners, besides twelve standards and sixteen pieces of cannon. Thus, in four days, he had broken into pieces, and thrown beyond the mountains of Bohemia, the army which had seemed to be on the point of overwhelming and destroying him.

No sooner were these brilliant successes obtained in Bavaria, than Napoleon, with his wonted daring and decision, resolved to hurl his whole military force upon the capital of Austria. Orders were despatched, April 24th, to Eugene, in Italy, to press forward through Carinthia; and on the 26th, Napoleon, with his whole army, was rapidly advancing down the valley of the Danube. On the 10th of May, the emperor arrived at the palace of Schönbrunn; the archduke Maximilian had determined to defend the walled city, but a spirited bombardment soon compelled its surrender; and on the 12th, one month after the emperor left Paris, the French troops took possession of Vienna. A few days afterward, intelligence was received that the archduke Charles, united with Hiller, had arrived a few miles north of the capital, on the left bank of the river. On the south, Eugene was driving the archduke John before him into Hungary, and might be expected to soon reach Vienna. The positions and force of the respective armies on the 17th were as follows: Napoleon, with eighty thousand good troops, composed of the corps of

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Lannes and Massena, and the imperial guard and reserve cavalry under Bessières, were around Vienna, while Davoust at St. Polten, and Bernadotte at Ebersberg, preserved the communications of the army on the rear; on the south, Eugene was approaching with forty thousand men, and did, in fact, arrive on the 26th. The archduke Charles, with eighty thousand men, was encamped on the elevated position of the Bisamberg, a few miles from the river, below Vienna; and the archduke John, with another considerable army, was on the south, and might be expected to effect a junction with his brother in the course of the next fortnight. At the same time, the various resources of the empire were rapidly coming out in all directions; and delay served only to permit the increased accumulation of hostile forces. Napoleon, therefore, resolved at once to cross the Danube, and attack Prince Charles; and this decision, adopted by his own judgment, without the support of his marshals, is one of the most splendid illustrations of his profound sagacity and his dauntless will. Preparations were instantly made for crossing, on a bridge of boats constructed by Lieutenant-General Bertrand, at the village of Ebersdorf and the island of Lobau, about two leagues below Vienna; and at nightfall on the 19th, a small detachment was sent over in boats to seize the island of Lobau, which was in possession of a small Austrian guard, and during the next day the bridges were completed — that which extended to Lobau, a distance of five hundred toises, was constructed very solidly of large boats and rafts; but between that island and the left bank, the passage was to be made on pontoons. Meanwhile Davoust, on the 19th, was marching down from St. Polten; the army around Vienna

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was concentrated behind Ebersdorf; and about noon on the 20th, and during the whole of the 21st, the army filed across the bridges, and under cover of a wood full of briers, near the left bank, they debouched upon the great plain of the Marchfield, extending their line between the villages of Aspern and Essling, which are half a mile from the river and a mile from one another, and occupying them as defensive positions. On the evening of the 20th, the Danube rose three feet; and about noon on the 21st, it had swollen four feet more: the bridges were twice carried away, and were restored by Count Bertrand. About sunset, when Massena's corps had passed over and occupied the village of Aspern on the left, one division of Lannes's corps had entered Essling, and two divisions of cuirassiers, with some lighthorse, under Bessières, had debouched upon the plain, the Austrian army was seen advancing from the Bisamberg. Their whole force was about sixty-five thousand infantry, fourteen thousand horse, with a magnificent park of two hundred and ninety guns; while the French troops on the left bank amounted to about one half the infantry of the enemy and one third of their cavalry, and their artillery was totally incompetent to compete with that of the Austrians. About half of the Austrian forces were directed upon Aspern, and the residue upon Essling, while upon the plain between the artillery were established in formidable power. Aspern became the scene of a furious and prolonged contest, which resulted in the enemy's obtaining possession of about half of it, and Massena holding the other half. In the centre, a gallant attempt was made to silence the terrible cannonade by a desperate charge of artillery: Bessières's glittering cuirassiers of the

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guard swept forward in an irresistible torrent, and the cannoniers found it impossible to maintain their fire; the guns were rapidly withdrawn, the infantry were thrown into squares, and the splendid cavalry rode around them on all sides, triumphant but not successful; meanwhile, a fire of musketry was opened, and kept up with such vigor, that the cavalry were at length compelled to retire with considerable loss. On the right, Lannes had been attacked in Essling by a formidable host; but the resistance which he opposed was worthy of the gigantic energies whose crowded career of greatness was about to close in splendid glory; fortunately, too, the charge of the cavalry on the plain took effect as a flank attack upon the principal column which was directed upon the village, and the delay which it produced enabled Lannes to keep his position in the town till night put an end to the combat. The armies reposed within musket-shot of one another, and it was obvious that the next day would witness a more earnest renewal of the strife.

On the part of Napoleon, the whole night was occupied in passing the troops from the right bank to the left, an operation, which, owing to the defective state of the bridges, and another sudden rise in the Danube, about midnight, was conducted with the utmost difficulty and tardiness: the entire corps, however, of Marshal Lannes and Oudinot, together with the infantry of the guard, and some reserves, passed. In the morning of the 22d, Davoust's corps, a division of cuirassiers, and the larger part of the horse-guards, and the reserves of artillery, were still on the right bank. At daylight, which was then between two and three o'clock, Napoleon was on horseback, and as he him-

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self expressed it, "elate with hope, for he thought that the fate of the house of Austria was about to be decided." Nor were these hopes without the most judicious foundation; for nothing but the sweeping away of the bridge by a sudden rise in the river, aided by the heavy boats sent down by the enemy, prevented Napoleon from gaining a decisive victory. The positions of the archduke Charles, were unquestionably vicious: his line was extended more than three leagues, forming a semicircle, resting at both ends upon the river. His right, in two columns, was in front of Aspern; his centre, under Hohenzollern, was in front of the plain, and the left, consisting of two columns commanded by Rosenberg, reached to the village of Enzersdorf, on the Danube. The left could not advance without coming under the fire of the island of Lobau; and Napoleon's plan of attack was to launch an immense body of troops into the interval between the Austrian left and centre, sever the army in half, throw back the left toward Hungary, while the young guard should advance upon it from Essling, and compel the centre to retire upon Bohemia, while Massena threw himself upon the left wing.

As Napoleon rode through the ranks of the army, between two and three in the morning, his presence was everywhere hailed with deafening cries of *Vive l'Empereur;* and, the general officers urged the emperor to allow them to take advantage of the first ardor of the soldiers, and commence the attack immediately. The emperor, says the duke of Rovigo, who was present as one of his aides-de-camp, was rather averse to the proposal, as he expected the corps of Marshal Davoust, which was still on the other side of the Da-

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nube, as well as General Nansouty's division of cuirassiers, with the major part of the horse-guards, and many of the allied troops; but he was so warmly urged by his officers that he gave way, and permitted the movements of attack to commence at the hour of half-past three in the morning. Massena, with four divisions, Molitor's, Le Grand's, Cara St. Cyr's, and Démont's, in reserve, debouched on the left by the village of Aspern; and, Lannes, on Massena's right, debouched between Aspern and Essling, but nearer to the latter, with three divisions, Oudinot's, Saint-Hilaire's, and Boudet's, as a reserve: the cavalry were on the right, and the guard, with whom was the emperor, were near the river toward Aspern. Lannes's corps advanced across the plain, partly in squares and partly in columns: the artillery opened upon them with deadly effect, and the Austrian infantry, forming themselves into squares checkerwise, poured a constant fire of musketry into the solid mass. Still this dauntless body advanced, occasionally deploying into line, and opening an answering fire of cannon: the Austrians gave way, and a complete separation of the centre from the left seemed about to take place. At length, the archduke, who felt that the crisis of the battle had arrived, brought up the reserve grenadiers, under the prince de Reuss, and marshalled Lichtenstein's cavalry at a little distance behind them. This checked the advance of Lannes: the French cuirassiers were then ordered up, and directed to charge the Austrian squares, successively, in several directions; they penetrated the line of infantry, rode round the squares, but beyond them they encountered the cavalry, three times more numerous than themselves, which in their turn charged with impetuosity, drove

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back and pursued the cuirassiers. The battle seemed then to stand equally suspended, and it was felt that the arrival of fresh troops upon one side or the other, was to decide the day. The corps of Davoust, and supplies of ammunition from the left bank, the want of which was beginning to be generally felt, were momently expected with the utmost impatience, when orders arrived, from the emperor to Lannes, about eight o'clock, to halt and to resume his former position by degrees. In fact, at seven in the morning, the disastrous intelligence reached Napoleon, that the bridges were again broken, and all the boats carried away by the force of the current, to the distance of a league. The enemy having extended their right to the river the day before, and obtained a complete view of the bridges, had contrived to fill a number of large boats with stones and send them down the current; and the design took effect in the destruction of the large bridge from the right bank, while the reserves of the artillery and ammunition, half the cuirassiers, and the whole of Davoust's corps were yet on that side of the river. The emperor at once commanded both Massena and Lannes to make a gradual retreat, and superintended it himself by remaining exposed to a cannonade which his own artillery no longer answered. Massena, meanwhile, had attacked with the division of Cara St. Cyr, the churchyard of Aspern, a village extending a league in length, which had been in possession of the Austrians, and drove them out; a fresh regiment, however, speedily charged the French and recovered the place, until St. Cyr, with some battalions of the guard, returned to the contest, and after an hour's desperate struggle again became masters of the ground. As

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soon as the order to fall back came from Napoleon, both the left and centre began slowly to retire, disputing every inch of the ground in their retreat; and, Lannes's corps had not yet reached the position between the villages from which it had debouched in the morning, when a furious attack was made upon Essling, and the village was carried. That town, in the possession of the French, had been five times attacked by fresh troops, who were on each occasion driven back. The success of the battle depended principally on the possession of this village, for the enemy, from that position, could reach the bridge long before the arrival of Massena or Lannes, to cover it. Napoleon immediately directed General Mouton, his aide-de-camp (afterward Count de Jobau), to attack, with the fusileer brigade belonging to the guard: and, the courageous officer, appreciating the vital necessity of recovering the place, placed himself at the head of the fusileers at charging time, regardless of the numbers opposed to him, and took and kept possession of the village. Between three and four, when Massena and Lannes had regained the position from which they had set out in the morning, the archduke Charles advanced with a body of grenadiers, preceded by a powerful artillery, to make a final attack upon the retiring columns. These energetic marshals immediately drew up their best troops, as a rear-guard; and directing them to reserve their fire till the enemy were within pistol-shot, calmly awaited the attack. Their orders were obeyed, and so destructive a fire poured in upon the assailing troops that they halted and recoiled. The archduke having no more reserves, took up a position, and the firing ceased exactly at four o'clock. The enemy did

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not take advantage of the retreat of the French, but left their army unmolested the whole evening in their position between Aspern and Essling. At five o'clock the troops were withdrawn into the wood bordering the river; and the whole force crossed in the night without further annoyance, with the exception of Massena's corps, which slept on the field of battle, and did not pass until the following day, at seven in the morning. During the night of the 22d, the emperor called a small council on the southern bank of the island of Lobau, to collect the opinions of his officers as to the course which it was expedient to adopt. Seated under a tree, between Massena and Berthier, he calmly listened to their advice, which was unanimous in favor of recrossing to the right bank of the river; and then proceeded to give his own decision to the contrary. "You might as well, gentlemen," said he, "at once advise me to retreat to Strasburg: if I recross the Danube, I must evacuate Vienna, because the enemy will cross over immediately after me." He proceeded to point out the necessity of his maintaining the position which he was then in, and the force of his arguments brought every one round to his opinion. It was decided to establish the whole army in the island of Lobau; and the command of all the troops in the place was given to Massena.

Such was the battle of Essling, memorable on many accounts, but most of all for the death of Lannes. It was during the last attack by the archduke, in the afternoon, that Lannes, who had dismounted from his horse, on which, the proximity of the enemy's fire, rendered it dangerous to remain, had both his legs carried away by a cannon-shot. The emperor had quitted the field

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and was superintending the pointing of some guns in the island of Lobau, to protect the retreat, when intelligence of the sad occurrence was brought to him. He was affected to tears at the mournful news, and was eagerly inquiring the detail, when a litter bearing the mutilated form of the generous hero was carried by. He ordered it to be borne to a retired spot, where they might be free from interruption, and with his face bathed in tears, he approached and embraced his dying friend. "Farewell, sire," said the marshal, in broken accents, and feeble from the loss of blood: "spare a life dear to all, and bestow a passing thought upon one of your best friends, who, in two hours, will be no more." The emperor was deeply affected. The state of Lannes's system indicated that he could not survive. He had passed the night which preceded the battle, in Vienna, and not alone. He had appeared on the field without having taken any food, and had fought the whole day. The physicians said that this triple concurrence of circumstances caused his death; he required a great deal of strength after the wound, to enable him to bear it, and, unfortunately, nature was almost exhausted before. He was removed to one of the houses of the village of Ebersdorf, and there lingered several days in a state of nervous excitement almost maniacal. Though the most courageous of men, he would not hear of death; and, having once heard the surgeons who attended him, whisper to one another that he could not escape, he declared that they deserved to be hanged for behaving so brutally toward a marshal. Every day, at noon, the emperor visited him. Lannes called constantly for him: "He twined himself around me with all he had left of life," said the emperor, relating the

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circumstance in later years. "He would hear of no one but me: he thought but of me; it was a kind of instinct. Undoubtedly, he loved his wife and children better than me; yet he did not speak of them. It was he that protected them, while I, on the contrary, was his protector. I was for him something vague and undefined, a superior being, his providence, which he implored." The emperor, one day, received a message that the marshal was desirous of seeing him. He hastened to the spot; a delirium had seized the unfortunate general, but he recovered his mind when the emperor approached him. He had dreamed that his life had been attempted, and said that, being unable to walk, he had sent for the emperor to defend him. The latter was overwhelmed with distress at the pitiable condition of his friend; the surgeon begged him to withdraw, and he returned home in the deepest affliction. About two hours afterward, intelligence was brought to him again that Lannes desired to bid him farewell: he went at once to see him, but, when he reached the door, M. Ivan, the physician in attendance, came out to tell him that the patient had expired a few minutes before. He died on the 31st of May, 1809; aged forty years.

The character of Lannes united, in a delightful combination, the rude, blunt temper of a soldier with the highest qualities of military genius. He had received little education: his great faculties were developed by exercise and disciplined by circumstances. "He was discreet, prudent, and daring," said Napoleon; "and before the enemy imperturbably cool." His powers expanded and became elevated, as his experience extended. "He was for a long time a mere fighting man,"

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said Napoleon; "but he afterward became an officer of the first talents." The emperor, who had witnessed the progress of his understanding, often expressed his surprise at it. "I found him a dwarf," said he; "and I lost him a giant." At the time of his death, the emperor pronounced him to be the most expert general for the manœuvre of twenty-five thousand infantry on a field of battle that the army possessed; and declared that had he lived, he would undoubtedly have become skilful in high tactics, which he did not yet understand. On another occasion, the same acute observer traced the distinction between Lannes and Murat: "It was difficult, nay, impossible," said he, "to be more courageous than Murat and Lannes; but Murat had remained courageous, and nothing more: the mind of Lannes, on the contrary, had risen to the level of his courage; he had become a giant." To constitute a great general, Napoleon remarked that the most desirable object was, that his judgment should be in equilibrium with his physical character; this he called being *well-squared*, both by base and perpendicular. In Lannes, the physical impulses at first predominated over the judgment, but the latter was every day gaining ground and approaching equilibrium; and at the period of his death, he had become a very able commander. Lannes's courage was of that generous and magnanimous kind, that rendered him considerate and indulgent. A colonel having punished a young officer just from Fontainebleau, because he gave evidence of fear in his first engagement, Lannes rebuked him: "Know, colonel," said he, "that none but a braggadocio will boast that he never was afraid."

The moral qualities of this interesting soldier had

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the excellences and the defects of a natural character. Guided by generous and noble impulses, if his conduct was often rash, it was never stained by anything sordid or little. Profuse in expenditure, reckless of consequences, he yielded to the passions of an honorable and lofty spirit, and won the sympathy and liking of those who might feel most inclined to doubt the safety of his principles. Open, frank, and fearless, he was wont to express his feelings and opinions on all occasions, and in respect to all subjects, in a downright and energetic way, without much consideration of *bienseance*, or much respect for dignities. When Joseph was appointed colonel of a regiment of dragoons at the camp of Boulogne, the transformation of so quiet a character into a warrior, excited a good deal of laughter among the generals: "The emperor had better not place his brother under my orders," said Lannes; "for, for the first fault, I shall put the scamp under arrest." Napoleon knew that he was in the habit of breaking out occasionally into strong language against himself, yet it made no alteration in the confidence which he reposed in his marshal, nor in the affection which he felt for him as a friend: "He was assuredly," said the emperor, in speaking of this trait of Lannes's manner, "one of the men on whom I could most implicitly rely: it is very true that, in the impetuosity of his disposition, he has sometimes suffered hasty expressions against me to escape his lips, but he would probably have broken the head of any one who chanced to hear them."

But though the surface of Lannes's nature was thus excitable, like the plain of the ocean, there lay beneath a depth of noble principle and great feeling which gave dignity and grandeur to his character, and inspired,

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amid sentiments of devoted duty, unwavering loyalty, incorruptible honor, and unbounded confidence. Napoleon ever spoke of him as one on whose constancy he should have implicitly relied in his disasters, without the possibility of being disappointed. His record, in his dictations to Montholon, of the death of Lannes and St. Hilaire on the same field, is not without a graceful interest: "Two heroes, who were Napoleon's best friends; he shed tears for their loss: these were men who would not have been wanting in constancy in the emperor's misfortunes; they would never have been faithless to the glory of France."—"We have learned," said he at another time, in conversation, "not to swear to anything. Yet I can not conceive that it could have been possible for Lannes to deviate from the path of duty and honor. But it is hard to imagine that he could have existed: with his bravery, he would certainly have got killed in some of the last affairs, or at least sufficiently wounded to be laid up out of the centre and influence of events. And if he had remained disposable, he was a man capable of changing the whole face of affairs by his own weight and power." The merits of this frank and noble soldier were testified by the enthusiastic admiration and affection with which he was regarded by the army and its officers: "In Marshal Lannes, we lost," says Savary, "one of the most gallant men that our armies could at any time boast of. His life was too short for his friends; but his career of honor and glory was without a parallel."

On the arrival of Marie Louise, Napoleon paid the highest and most refined tribute in his power to the memory of his friend, by appointing the widowed duchess of Montebello a lady of honor to the empress. The

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empress conceived the tenderest affection for this lady a young and beautiful woman of irreproachable character. In the misfortunes of 1814, the emperor thought that she did not evince the devotedness which the empress was entitled to expect: she supposed that she had fulfilled her duty in attending her mistress as far as Vienna.

"Lannes," said Napoleon to O'Meara, "when I first took him by the hand, was an *ignorantaccio*. His education had been much neglected. However, he improved greatly; and to judge from the astonishing progress he had made, he would have been a general of the first class. He had great experience in war. He had been in fifty-four pitched battles, and in three hundred combats of different kinds. He was a man of uncommon bravery: cool in the midst of fire, and possessed of a clear, penetrating eye, ready to take advantage of any opportunity which might present itself. Violent and hasty in his expressions, sometimes even in my presence, he was warmly attached to me. In the midst of his anger, he would not suffer any person to join him in his remarks. On that account, when he was in a choleric mood, it was dangerous to speak to him, as he used to come to me in his rage, and say that such and such persons were not to be trusted. As a general, he was greatly superior to Moreau or to Soult."

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WILLIAM BRUNE.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE.

COUNT BRUNE.

William Mary Anne Brune, was born at Brive-la-Gaillarde, on the 13th of March, 1763. His father, Stephen Brune, was a lawyer; but the young man went up to Paris, at an early age, to learn the profession of a printer. When the revolution broke out, he attached himself warmly to the party of Danton, and for some time published a newspaper devoted to the principles of that faction. His predilection for the more exciting interests of the field, however, displayed itself as soon as the change in the government of the country opened a prospect of success to him. As early as 1791, he became an adjutant-major of the second battalion of the Seine-and-Oise, and in the following year, adjutant-general and chief of brigade. In 1793, he served in the army of the north, with so much credit as to acquire the rank of general of brigade. In 1796 and 1797, he made the campaign of Italy, under Napoleon, and at the assault of the defile of Tarwis, in March of the latter year, the emperor observes in his memoirs, that General Brune, who commanded a brigade of Massena's division, behaved with distinguished bravery. In the same year, he was made a general of division:

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and, in 1798, when the directory determined upon revolutionizing Switzerland, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Helvetia, and entered the country in January. At the close of the year, he received the command of the army of Holland, and operated with distinction during 1799, against the combined English and Russian forces. On the 10th of September, he was repulsed, with considerable loss, in an attack on the British, under the duke of York, near Helder: but, at Bergen, on the 19th, he defeated the allied British and Russian armies, and again, on the 6th, gained such advantages over the duke of York, as secured the entire evacuation of Holland by the enemy, in November. In the beginning of 1800, he was made general-in-chief of the army of the west, in La Vendee, and, in July, was placed in command of the second army of reserve assembled at Dijon, after Napoleon had led the first to Marengo. This post was soon after given to Macdonald, and Brune succeeded Massena as commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, a body of about ninety thousand men, who were to pass the Mincio and Adige, and advance upon the Noric Alps. Hostilities, under Brune, began on November 22d, 1800, the Austrian army being under Bellegarde. At the passage of the Mincio, which was appointed to take place at Mozembano, and at Molino della Volta, on the 24th of December, Brune displayed great incapacity and weakness. The right wing of the army, under Dupont, passed according to the previous arrangement, at La Volta, but Brune deferred the passage of the rest until the following day. Bellegarde immediately fell, with his whole army, upon Dupont; and Brune made no dispositions to succor

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him; and, had not Davoust and Suchet come voluntarily to his rescue, his division would have been wholly destroyed. On the 1st of January, 1801, the French army passed the Adige, that is, a week after the passage of the Mincio; "An able general," says Napoleon, "would have passed it the following day." On the 9th, Macdonald, who with the army of the Grisons had passed through Trent, came into communication with the army of Italy, by Roveredo, and was placed under Brune's orders, and directed to form the left wing of his army. On the 16th, the Austrians having some time before sued for a suspension of hostilities, the armistice of Treviso was signed, which left Mantua to the Austrians, and gave them other advantages displeasing to the first consul, who informed the Austrian minister that he would not recognise that convention unless Mantua were given up, which was accordingly done, and, meanwhile, the treaty of Luneville, on the 9th of February, terminated hostilities. Brune's operations during this period have been traced by Napoleon himself, who expresses his dissatisfaction at the numerous errors, both military and political, that were made. "This campaign of Italy," he remarks, "showed the limits of Brune's talents, and the first consul never again employed him in important commands. Although this general had evinced the most brilliant valor, and great decision, at the head of a brigade, it appeared that he was not formed to command an army."

In 1801, General Brune was appointed a councillor of state, and in the following year, was sent ambassador to Constantinople, where he remained for two years. On the 19th of May, 1804, he was created a marshal

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of the empire, and a grand-officer of the legion of honor, and soon after was made general-in-chief of the "armée des côtes." In 1806, he was appointed governor of the Hanseatic cities: here he incurred the displeasure of the emperor, on account of his intrigues, by which the English trade was allowed some advantages for considerations personally beneficial to the marshal. It is due, however, to the character of Brune, to mention that Bourrienne, who was well acquainted with the occurrences in that region, gives the marshal the credit of acting upon a mild and conciliatory system, without taking notice of any corrupt motives. "I am very glad," says he, "to take the present opportunity of correcting the misconceptions that arose out of the execution of certain acts of imperial tyranny. The truth is Marshal Brune, during his government, constantly endeavored to moderate, as far as he could, the severity of the orders he received." He was recalled, and remained without employment until the downfall of Napoleon. Upon the return of the emperor, however, he quickly and earnestly espoused his cause, in opposition to the Bourbons; and, Napoleon soon after gave him the command of the ninth corps of the army, and made him a count. At the time of the second restoration, he was in command of Toulon, which he gave up to the royal authorities after considerable delay, and set out for Paris. At Avignon he was recognised by the populace, and became the victim of that furious fanaticism which now raged as madly against the opponents of the crown, as twenty years before it had against its supporters. It was alleged that the marshal had been the murderer of the Princess Lamballe; and the mob assembled around the inn where he had alighted, and de-

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manded his death. The civil authorities protected him for some hours, there being no military in the place; but, at length, the doors were broken, the crowd rushed to the marshal's chamber, and he fell mortally wounded by a volley of balls. His remains were dragged along the streets, with every circumstance of insult, and thrown into the Rhone. He perished on the 2d of August, 1815, in the fifty-third year of his age.

The character of Brune was disgraced by those despicable vices of rapine and avarice which belonged to the revolutionary *canaille*, from which he sprung. With little talent and less virtue, he leaves no historical memory but that of a shameless plunderer.

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DOMINICK PERIGNON.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE.

MARQUIS OF PERIGNON.

Dominick Catherine Perignon, the son of John Bernard de Perignon, was born on the 31st of May, 1754, at Grenada, near Toulouse, in the upper Garonne. Evincing at an early age a taste for military pursuits, he was carefully instructed in the branches of education connected with the employment of a soldier, and in 1782 entered as a sub-lieutenant in the battalion of the garrison of Lyons, and in the following year in the corps of the royal grenadiers of Guyenne, where he became aide-de-camp to the Count de Preissac. In 1791, he was appointed a deputy to the national assembly from the department of the upper Garonne; but becoming quickly disgusted with a scene uncongenial to his taste, he joined, in 1792, the legion of the eastern Pyrenees, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He here distinguished himself by his bravery so much, that he quickly rose to the rank of chief of brigade, and general of brigade; and on the 23d of December, 1793, he was made a general of division. In the campaign of 1794, he gained the highest celebrity. In the attack of the entrenchments before Figueras, on the 18th of November, the commander-in-chief, Dugommier, was killed by a shell, and Perignon succeeded to the supreme command, and displayed a promptness and abil-

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ity in his dispositions which turned a temporary check into a brilliant victory. On the 20th, he advanced with his whole army to the attack of the entrenched camp at Figueras. Crossing a region of country almost impracticable, on account of marshes and streams, the troops marched up to the redoubts on Mount Escola, ascended the heights in the face of a deadly fire, and carried the central entrenchment at the point of the bayonet. The Spanish general-in-chief, La Union, while hastening with his reserve to the relief of part of the works, was killed: several redoubts were then carried by the bayonet, and others were abandoned by their defenders and blown up. In the course of six hours, eighty redoubts, strongly fortified and manned, were taken or destroyed, and the whole army driven from the entrenched camp in confusion into the city. Such was the panic produced by this great victory, that on the 24th, Figueras, one of the strongest places in Spain, with a garrison of nine thousand men, well supplied, surrendered to Perignon. He continued to serve in Spain with reputation until the treaty of Bale, on the 12th of July, 1795, restored peace between the contending parties.

Shortly after, General Perignon was sent ambassador to Madrid, for the purpose of cementing the amicable relations of the countries. He was received and treated with great distinction, and remained until 1798, when the directory gave him a command in the army of Italy. At the battle of Novi, on the 17th of August, 1799, Perignon commanded the left wing, under Joubert; and after fighting with the most obstinate bravery, was wounded and made a prisoner. In 1801, he was made a member of the senate; and on the 11th of September, 1802, was appointed by the first consul commis-

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sioner extraordinary to settle the boundary between France and Spain in the Pyrenees, according to the treaty of 1795. On the 19th of May, 1804, he was elevated to the dignity of marshal of France: on the 14th of June, of the same year, he was made grand-officer of the legion of honor, and grand-cross on the 2d of February, 1805. In the following year, Perignon was made governor-general of the states of Parma and Placentia; in 1808, was appointed governor of the city of Naples, and commander-in-chief of the forces in that kingdom, succeeding Marshal Jourdan in that station. In the same year, he was created a grand dignitary of the order of the Two Sicilies; and in 1811, was made a count. In 1814, upon Murat's demonstrations in opposition to Napoleon, Perignon quitted that kingdom. Upon the accession of the Bourbons, he received several marks of the royal favor: on the 1st of June, 1814, was created a knight of the royal and military order of St. Louis; and on the 4th, was raised to the rank of peer of France. Upon the landing of Napoleon in March, 1815, Marshal Perignon was sent to Toulouse by the duke d'Angouleme, as commander of the 10th division; but the rapidity of Napoleon's progress rendered it impracticable for him to make any resistance. He declined accepting a command which was offered to him by the emperor, and retiring to his country-seat, remained a stranger to the events of the "hundred days." Upon the second return of the Bourbons, Marshal Perignon was nominated, on the 10th January, 1816, governor of the first military division. The same year, he was made, successively, commander and grand-cross of the order of St. Louis; and in 1817, was created marquis. He died at Paris, on the 25th of December, 1818.

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NICHOLAS CHARLES OUDINOT.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, JULY 12TH, 1809.

DUKE OF REGGIO.

NICHOLAS CHARLES OUDINOT, son of Nicholas Oudinot, was born at Bar-le-duc, on the 25th of April, 1767. He commenced his military career, in 1784, in the humble capacity of a private soldier, in the regiment of infantry of Medoc; and though, after serving for three years, he left the army for a time, at the request of his father, he soon resumed the profession of his choice, and, in 1791, he rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in the third battalion of the volunteers of the Meuse, and served in the same capacity in the army of the Moselle, in 1792 and 1793. In 1794, he had attained the station of general of brigade, and was employed in the army of the Rhine, and in that of Moselle until 1798. In 1799, he was made a general of division, and under Massena, in March of that year, he commanded the left wing of the army, and took a distinguished part in the operations in the Grisons, which preceded the battle of Zurich. In the attacks on Korsakow's position, there, toward the close of September, Oudinot's duty was to master the heights on the northwest. This he accomplished with great vigor, and pressed down from them with resistless impetuosity. Soon after, he was appointed chief of the gen-

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eral staff of the army commanded by Massena, and accompanied that general to Genoa, and took part in the defence of that city. In the middle of April, 1800, Massena being desirous of communicating with Suchet, then on the Var, Oudinot undertook to penetrate through the English cruisers who guarded, and convey the advices of the commander-in-chief; a perilous enterprise which he accomplished in safety. In 1803, Oudinot was made inspector-general of the infantry and cavalry; and, in 1804, was created grand-officer of the legion of honor. In 1805, he was placed at the head of the grenadiers, and in that post made the campaign of Ulm and Austerlitz. In the following year, he was named governor-general of the principality of Neufchatel: he served during the campaigns of 1806, and 1807, in Russia and Poland, and after the fall of Dantzig, in May, 1807, he was appointed to particular command of that city and its vicinity. In 1808, he was made governor of Erfurth, and raised to the dignity of count of the empire, with a donation of a million francs. In the following year, at the head of the second corps of the army of Germany, he took a distinguished part in the battle of Eckmuhl, and signalized his valor still more gloriously at Wagram, where he won his marshal's baton. In the order of the day, issued on the 9th of July, by Napoleon, in rebuke of the order which Bernadotte had issued on the 7th, the emperor says, "The success of the day of the 5th, is due to the marshals, the duke of Rivoli, and Oudinot, who severed the centre of the enemy at the same time that the corps of the duke of Auerstadt turned their flank." In 1810, Marshal Oudinot, was created duke of Reggio, and received command of the army of the

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north, in Holland, and when Louis quitted the throne, he took possession of that kingdom in the name of the emperor. In 1812, he commanded the second corps of the grand army of Russia, where he displayed much activity and courage. In an engagement with Wettgenstein, near Polotsk, on the 17th of August, he was wounded, and obliged to give up his command for a time: but he was again at his post in October, and his operations during the retreat, and especially at the passage of the Beresina, were of great service to the main army. In Saxony, in 1813, he was in command of the second and of the seventh corps of the army; and was defeated by Bernadotte, at Gross-Beeren, on the 21st of August, in attempting to reach Berlin after the battle of Dresden. In 1814, in the campaign of France, he was again by Napoleon's side. He fought valiantly at the battle of Brienne, on the 1st of February, and at Nangis and Montereau, on the 16th and 17th. At Bar-sur-Aube, on the 17th, he was in command of the troops there, and was defeated and compelled to retreat. At Arcis-sur-Aube, Oudinot commanded the rear-guard of the army.

Upon the accession of Louis XVIII., the duke of Reggio was appointed colonel-general of grenadiers, and governor of Nantz. Upon the return of Napoleon, he asked his troops if he might rely upon them; they replied with one voice, "We will not fight against the emperor, nor for the Bourbons." He took no part in the events of the "hundred days." Upon the return of the Bourbons, the duke of Reggio was created a minister of state, a member of the privy counsel, and a peer of France, and received the command of the royal corps of the grenadiers and chasseurs of France, and

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the third military division. In 1816, he was honored with the double title of major-general of the royal guard, and commander-in-chief of the national guard of Paris. In the following year he received a further mark of the royal favor in the grand-cross of the order of St. Louis, and in 1820, he was made a knight of the Holy Ghost. In 1823, he was made commander-in-chief of the first corps of the army of invasion in Spain, in which character he occupied and governed Madrid. In 1839, he was elected grand-chancellor of the royal order of the legion of honor. After the death of Moncey, he was appointed governor of the Invalides, and held that office at the time of his death, in September, 1847. His funeral obsequies were celebrated with much pomp at the church of the Invalides, on the 5th of October. A eulogy was pronounced by General Petit, commander of the Invalides, who spoke of him as "loaded with honors and distinctions, decorated with all the military titles of Europe, respected and honored for his singular probity, justice, and moderation of political opinions." He was married twice: first, on the 15th of September, 1789, to Frances Charlotte d'Erlin; and, afterward, on the 19th of July, 1812, to Mary, daughter of Nicolas-Antony de Coucy, a lady of an old and distinguished family. He left a son, the Marquis Oudinot, distinguished in the war in Algiers.

In the bulletin in which the elevation of Oudinot to the rank of marshal was announced, Napoleon spoke of him as "tried in a hundred battles." His courage and valor were unquestionable, but his abilities were of a commonplace kind. "I asked Napoleon's opinion of the duke of Reggio," says Dr. O'Meara. "'A brave man,' he replied: '*Ma di poca testa.*'"

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NAPOLEON

AND

THE MARSHALS

OF

The Empire.

TWO VOLUMES COMPLETE IN ONE

WITH FINELY-ENGRAVED PORTRAITS.

VOL. II.

PHILADELPHIA:
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NICHOLAS SOULT,

DUKE OF DALMATIA.

MARSHAL-GENERAL OF FRANCE.

The fame of Marshal Soult fills a great space in the military history of the last half century. Rising from the grade of a common soldier to the highest offices in war and in the state, he has certainly traversed a large and various career of political and military service. In the popular opinion, he ranks higher as a general than any other of Napoleon's marshals; an estimate which a candid consideration of his history will hardly sustain. He possessed, it is true, many qualities which most of the other marshals lacked; but it has not been sufficiently observed, that he lacked many of the qualities which they possessed. The head and the hand must combine to constitute a great commander: if Ney and Murat had not the former, Soult was, perhaps, as wanting in the latter. He owes his present reputation, in a great degree, to Colonel Napier's history of the peninsular war; a work which is written in a spirit of obvious and displeasing partiality to Soult, and which, magnifying all his merits, and passing over his defects, places him upon an elevation which, it is believed, in future times, he will not be allowed to occupy. Napier's abilities and research are more conspicuous than his candor

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of temper: he is subject to the strongest personal prejudices, and his vindication and praises of Soult are as unscrupulous and extravagant, as his disparagement of Beresford is unjust, unreasonable, and unmanly.

Nicholas Jean-de-Dieu Soult, the son of John Soult and of Mary Grénier his wife, was born on the 29th of March, 1769, at St. Amans, in the department of Tarn, near Toulouse, where his parents were cultivators of the soil, in middling circumstances. In 1785, at the age of sixteen, he entered the regiment of royal infantry, afterward the twenty-third, as a common soldier: here his good conduct attracted the attention of his commanding officers, and in 1787 he was promoted to the grade of corporal, and three years afterward to that of sergeant. His steady, resolute character, and his determination to rise in his profession, led him to a particular study of the manœuvres of infantry; and his reputation of being a good instructor, procured for him, toward the close of 1791, an appointment as sub-lieutenant of grenadiers (national guards) in the first battalion of the upper Rhine, which it was made his duty to drill and exercise. So acceptable was his deportment in this station, that two months afterward (1792) the battalion, by acclamation, named him adjutant-major, and afterward captain. In 1793, he distinguished himself at the combat of Oberfelsheim, and was charged with conducting in the Vosges the movements of two battalions, which were sent to join the camp of Budenthal. Attached as an adjutant to the staff of the army of the Moselle, under Jourdan, with the rank of captain, in 1793, he was present at the unsuccessful battle of Kaiserslautern. Soon after, he was placed at the head of a corps which was charged with an assault

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against the camp of Marsthal, and gained the most brilliant success, capturing two flags and a large number of prisoners. He was again distinguished at the battle of Wissenberg, and was afterward in command of the camp of Roth, and was engaged in the siege of Fort Louis.

On the 29th of January, 1794, Soult was appointed adjutant-general with the rank of major, and on the 15th of May, in the same year, was made a.colonel. In the beginning of June, in that year, when Jourdan marched from the Moselle with forty thousand men to the relief of Charleroi on the Sambre, Soult was chief of the staff in the advanced-guard of the army which was led by Lefebvre. This general is said to have appreciated the abilities and judgment of Soult very highly, and to have consulted him more frequently than he was willing to acknowledge. At the battle of Fleurus, on the 26th of June, 1794, Soult's coolness and sagacity contributed materially to the success of that protracted and hardly-won engagement. The battle began about three o'clock in the morning, and the Austrian left wing, under General Beaulieu, advancing with great impetuosity against the French right, commanded by Marceau, drove them, after a sharp contest, out of the villages of Wanservée, Velaine, and Baulet. The French retired, fighting obstinately, into the wood of Copiau, and succeeded in holding the enemy in check for some time in advance of their entrenchments; but finding themselves in danger of being turned, they abandoned their position, the cry of *sauve qui peut* was raised, and by noon the whole wing was retiring in the utmost confusion. Marceau himself, encircled by Latour's Austrian dragoons, owed his safety to the valor of his

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staff, who closed around him and protected his retreat to Lefebvre's division. "Give me four of your battalions," said Marceau to Lefebvre, "that I may drive the enemy from the position he has just carried. If you refuse me," he added in a tone of despair, seeing that Lefebvre hesitated, "I will blow my brains out." Lefebvre turned round to Soult and asked his opinion: Soult replied, that to detach the smallest portion of the troops at that moment, would expose the safety of the division. Marceau, with an angry glance, demanded who he was, that he should undertake to speak in such a decisive tone. "I am calm," answered Soult, "and you are not so." This only enraged Marceau still more, and he challenged Soult upon the spot to fight him the next day. "To-day or to-morrow, as you please," replied Soult: "you will always find me ready to tell you the truth, and to pay you the respect which is due to your rank. Do not blow your brains out, but fight with us, and as soon as our danger is over, we will give you the battalions you ask for." As he spoke, Lefebvre's division was assailed by a formidable body of Hungarian grenadiers under the prince of Cobourg. Soult flew to the most exposed points, and Marceau, recalled to the native heroism of his character, fought like a lion. Seven times did this fierce Austrian corps advance, and as often were they repelled. They at last gave way, and the French columns, headed by Soult and Marceau, were pressing forward in pursuit of them, when the Austrian regiment called the royal Allemand charged them furiously, and rushed in almost to Lefebvre's entrenched camp, where nearly three hundred of them were slain. On the left wing and in the centre the day had gone badly, and at six o'clock in the even-

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ing, all the divisions of Jourdan's army were in retreat, excepting Lefebvre's. Fearing that he would be turned and outflanked, this general was about to retire, when Soult entreated him to keep his ground, assuring him that the uncertainty of the enemy's manœuvres gave every indication that they were preparing to retreat. This opinion of Soult was soon confirmed by a messenger from Jourdan, who, having learned the movements of the Austrian army by means of observers stationed in a balloon, now sent orders to advance. In the midst of success, after an obstinate engagement of eighteen hours, Cobourg, hearing of the fall of Charleroi, determined to retreat. Marceau and Soult then attacked the village of Lambrisart, which had been lost in the morning, and succeeded in carrying it.

When the battle was over, Marceau said to Lefebvre: "The chief of your staff is a man of merit: he will soon obtain great renown." Then holding out his hand to Soult, he said, in a friendly tone, "General, I beg you will forget the warmth with which I spoke to you this morning. Although my rank entitles me to give you instruction, you have this day taught me a lesson which I shall not forget while I live. It is you who have gained the battle of Fleurus." At these words, they embraced one another, and a warm friendship subsisted ever after between them, until the death of Marceau.

In November, 1794, Soult was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and passed for a time into the division of General Harty, and was employed under his orders in the siege of Luxembourg until it capitulated. He soon returned, however, to Lefebvre, and that general, anxious to retain his services, gave him the command of the light troops, which formed the advanced-

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guard of his division. Soult continued to perform the duties of chief of the staff to Lefebvre during 1795, 1796, and 1797. Desirous of preventing this useful assistant from being removed to a situation more worthy of his talents, the general is said to have avoided giving him in the presence of others the praise which he well knew belonged to him. When any one commended Soult, Lefebvre would reply, that he was better adapted for the desk than for the field. But in either department, his services were of inestimable value to his general. Lefebvre's division of fifteen thousand men had become the most distinguished in the army: in the camp, and on the march, it always preserved the most perfect order: the cavalry deployed on a field of battle with as much precision as at parade, and the infantry manœuvred, under a destructive fire, with the regularity of Swiss soldiers. In attack, this division was always the advanced-guard; and in every retreat, it was the rear-guard. Those who heard Lefebvre's conversation were surprised to find that, in military operations, his troops enjoyed a celebrity which was not equalled by those of Marceau, Bernadotte, or Championnet, who were known to possess far superior talents to his. Soult was, accordingly, in the army considered as the author of his general's fame. He, in fact, superintended everything. Prompt in commending the officers whose conduct was meritorious, and fearless in reproving those who were negligent, he always set the best example himself; and on a day of battle, was sure to be found in the foremost ranks. He carried his concern for the welfare of the troops so far, as regularly to be on the spot when provisions were distributed, that he might be sure of their being sound — an attention which rec-

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ommended him to the affection of the soldiers. Lefebvre gained credit with the government for the good effects of these endeavors; but the army knew to whom the merit was due. When any reverse was experienced, the soldiers would say, "It happened because the general interfered: why does he not rely implicitly upon the chief of his staff?" These particulars are derived from the statement of a distinguished officer, who himself served with Soult in Lefebvre's division as adjutant-general, and who vouches for their literal truth.

Upon the resumption of hostilities in the end of May, 1796, under Moreau as commander-in-chief, Kleber was placed at the head of the advanced corps, consisting of Lefebvre's and Collaud's divisions; and many opportunities were afforded Soult to display his characteristic coolness and bravery. At the passage of the Sieg, and the sharp combat near Siegburg, his courage and ability were conspicuous. In the gallant assault upon Alterkirchen, on the 4th of June, Lefebvre, supported by Collaud, was to attack in front that almost impregnable position, while Ney threatened it in the rear. Lefebvre's force was divided into three columns, the left of which was led by Soult. With an impetuosity rivalling that which the soldiers of Napoleon were then exhibiting on the plains of Italy, the troops rushed through a tempest of grape-shot, carried the batteries by a charge, and scaled the heights which had been deemed impracticable. A sanguinary contest ensued among the works, which were at length carried by the bayonet. Two hours sufficed for gaining this splendid victory, in which three thousand prisoners, twelve pieces of cannon, and four stands of colors, were taken. Af-

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ter this brilliant success, Kleber despatched him to Herborn with three battalions and five hundred cavalry, to open the way for the left of the army. Lefebvre was following him, when the archduke Charles intercepted his march, and brought on an engagement with very superior numbers at Wetzlar, in which Lefebvre was repulsed, and compelled to fall back. As soon as Kleber was informed of this disaster, he ordered Ney to proceed at once with some hussars to the rescue of the advanced detachment: "Go," said he; "you can not arrive too soon: Soult has, probably, a swarm of Austrians already upon him." This anticipation was not unfounded: as soon as the advantage at Wetzlar had been gained, the imperialists pressed forward to Herborn to overwhelm the feeble force which occupied it. The hussars of Caneville and the legion of Bussy appeared at the head of the assailants; but Soult, nothing daunted, sallied forth to meet them. Meanwhile, an immense force of emigrants had collected on the plain: six thousand had already debouched, and others were coming up. A sharp and destructive fire was opened upon this body, and the cavalry were directed to repel the assaults of the imperial troops, which were renewed not less than seven times. At length, the ammunition of Soult's heroic band began to fail, and the men were almost exhausted with fatigue. The dragoons of Bussy and the columns of the emigrants were preparing for a last, and probably decisive charge, when, upon the opposite quarter of the field of battle, a column of cavalry unexpectedly appeared, and gave another turn to the engagement. This was Ney with the hussars, who, guided by the firing, had arrived upon the ground in time to save the intrepid company which

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was sustaining the shock of a force six times as great. Ney instantly fell with fury upon the flank and rear of the enemy, and after an obstinate and doubtful contest, the Austrians and emigrants gave way, and Soult, still fighting, marching, and manœuvring, at last effected his junction with General Bastout, and Ney returned to Kleber to celebrate the noble defence which his brother-in-arms had made.

In 1799, Soult was made a general of division; and Lefebvre having been wounded, Jourdan gave him the command of that division, in which post he took an important share in the battle of Stockach, on the 26th of March, 1799. He here formed the advanced-guard of the left wing, under St. Cyr; and his steadiness and ability alone saved that part of the army from total destruction. He was sent the same year to allay the insurrection in Switzerland, and to dissolve it by force. He proclaimed a pardon to such of the insurgents as should immediately submit, and, by this means, in two days the canton of Schwitz was pacified and disarmed; but he was obliged to resort to arms for the reduction of Uri and Underwald. After this expedition, he returned to join the main army under command of Massena. At the battle of Andelfingen and Frauenfield on the Thur, in May, 1799, Soult commanded the reserve; and his judicious movements enabled Oudinot to accomplish, with decisive effect, the difficult task which had been assigned to him. In 1800, Soult passed into the army of Italy, under Massena, and was created lieutenant-general. He received the chief command of the centre, which consisted of twelve thousand men, in three divisions; that of Gardanne, which defended Cadibona, Vado, Montelegino, Savo-

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na, and Stella; that of Gazan, which defended all the approaches of the Bochetta; and that of Marbot, which acted as a reserve under the immediate orders of Soult. The Austrian operations began on the 6th of April, by a simultaneous attack along the whole line. Melas, with four divisions, assailed Montelegino and Stella at the same time; and Soult at once hastened with the reserve to Gardanne's assistance, and a brisk action was kept up the whole day. The immense superiority of numbers on the part of the Austrians rendered it impossible for the French to maintain their positions: Palfy's division entered Cadibona and Vado; Saint Julien's and Lattermann's occupied Montelegino and Arbizola: and Soult rallied his left upon Savona, strengthened the garrison of that citadel, and then retired upon Vareggio, to cover Genoa. On the following day he attacked and carried the summits of Arbizola, drove the imperialists as far as Stella, and threw a supply of provisions into Savona. Upon the 9th, Soult was at Voltri; and Massena ordered a combined movement for the purpose of restoring his communications with Suchet on the left. Soult was to move upon Sassello, Massena upon Melta, and Suchet upon Cadibona; and the junction was to take place upon Upper Montenotte. Soult put himself in march for Sassello at dawn; but his scouts having learned that some flankers of Hohenzollern's corps were approaching Voltri, he quitted his road, wheeled to the right, marched upon them, and, driving them from one eminence to another, in the evening precipitated them into the bog of the torrent of La Pioto, having killed, wounded, and captured, three thousand men. On the 11th he accomplished his movement upon Sassello; and there

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learning that General Saint Julien had left it in the morning for Monte Fayal, he immediately marched after him, defeated him, and drove him upon Montenotte, with the loss of a great number of prisoners. Thence he moved upon Monte l'Hermette, which he carried after some smart actions, "in which," says Napoleon, in his dictations upon this campaign, "bravery, intrepidity, and the necessity of conquering, supplied the want of numbers." In these contests, Soult exposed himself with the utmost fearlessness, and was twice wounded. Massena, meanwhile, had been less fortunate; encountering a superior force in every direction, and fearing to be surrounded, he had, after some attempts to advance, retired upon Cogareto. This left Soult in a very exposed and unprotected situation, for Bellegarde was interposed upon his communications. His men, too, were almost entirely destitute of provisions, and had not more than two rounds of ammunition with them. Surrounded by a force five times as numerous as his own, Soult determined to cut his way through them and rejoin Massena, if possible. Bellegarde sent him a summons to surrender. Soult replied, that "with bayonets Frenchmen never despaired." This energetic reply re-established the courage of his men; and taking advantage, with great skill, of the indecision of the enemy, he secured his movements until General Fressinet, detached by Massena, came up to his relief. In the repulse of the Austrian attack upon Genoa, on the 30th of April, Soult led the brilliant attack upon the plateau of Deux-Frères, and made himself master of it. After Melas had advanced with a part of his army upon the Var, and the blockading force before Genoa was thereby much re-

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duced, Massena determined to march out and attempt the overthrow of the blockade. On the 10th of May, Lieutenant-General Soult sallied out of the city at the head of six thousand men, marched along the eastern coast in the rear of Ott's left, defeated General Gottesheim, and returned into Genoa by the way of Monte Faccio, with provisions and a thousand prisoners. On the 13th, the sortie was renewed. Ott concentrated his troops upon Monte Creto. "The action," says Napoleon, "was obstinate and bloody; Soult, after having performed prodigies of valor, fell severely wounded, and remained in the power of the enemy." His right leg being shattered by a ball, Soult's younger brother, Peter Benedict, a major of cavalry and aide-de-camp to the lieutenant-general, was made prisoner at the same time. The younger Soult became a general of division in 1813, and served under his brother in the army of the Pyrenees, and was distinguished at Bayonne, Orthes, and Toulouse.

The capitulation of Genoa and the battle of Marengo restored Soult to liberty, and he returned to France. As soon as he had recovered from his wounds, he was appointed to the supreme command in Piedmont: there he suppressed the insurrection which had taken place in the valley of Aost, organized the rebels into companies under his own command, and, by his prudence and firmness, dissipated the conspiracies of which the country had been fertile, and restored quiet and confidence throughout his administration. His probity and love of justice gained him the affection of both the soldiers and the inhabitants. In 1801, he was placed at the head of a corps of observation of twelve thousand men, charged with the occupation of Tarento,

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Otranto, and the neighboring regions. Soon after this, it was in contemplation to send Soult with this corps into Egypt, to take the chief command in place of General Menou, who had succeeded to it by seniority upon the death of Kleber, and whose incapacity soon became conspicuous; but the capitulation of this general to Abercromby, and the evacuation of Egypt, rendered this design abortive. In the meanwhile, General Lefebvre had recommended Soult to Napoleon, as being equally strict in discipline and skilful in manœuvres; and upon his coming up to Paris, after the peace of Amiens, he was appointed, in 1802, one of the four colonel-generals of the consular guard. The effects of Soult's supervision were soon apparent in the great improvement of the guard in instruction, discipline, and appearance; and the first consul conceived so high an opinion of the abilities of his colonel-general, as a military superintendent, that, in 1803, he appointed him commander-in-chief of the camp of St. Omer. In this situation Soult displayed the utmost activity. On horseback during almost the whole day, he visited the coast and camps, and occupied himself incessantly in disciplining the soldiers in those evolutions which rendered that army capable of the splendid achievements of Ulm and Austerlitz. On the 19th of May, 1804, he received the baton of marshal of France, and, in the following year, was created grand-eagle of the legion of honor. In the campaign of 1805, Soult commanded the fourth corps of the grand army, and crossed the Rhine, at Spire, on the 26th of September, and the Danube, at Donauwerth, on the 6th of November. The battle of Austerlitz is so conspicuously associated with the name of this able commander, that it is deemed

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appropriate to introduce at this place an account of that memorable campaign. Soult, says the duke of Rovigo, was the officer who, at Austerlitz, gave the most satisfaction to the emperor. After the battle of Wagram, when intelligence reached Napoleon at Vienna, of the rumors prevailing as to Soult's design to make himself king of Portugal, the emperor, in token of his knowledge of his intention, and his forgiveness of it, sent him word that "he remembered nothing but Austerlitz."

CAMPAIGN OF AUSTERLITZ, IN 1805.

The assumption of the imperial crown by Napoleon, was the signal for the first formation of that mighty coalition of the North, which, though baffled for ten years by his extraordinary genius and activity, succeeded at last in overwhelming him. The diplomacy of Mr. Pitt had succeeded in establishing a military alliance with Russia, Austria, and Sweden, by which these powers would appear against France with three hundred and fifty thousand troops during the autumn of 1805. Of this immense host, fifty-five thousand were to operate, under the archduke Charles, on Italy against Massena; thirty thousand had assembled in the Tyrol, under the archduke John; eighty thousand, under Mack, with the archduke Ferdinand, had crossed the Inn on the 9th of September, entered Bavaria, and occupied the defiles of the Black Forest and its debouches into the valley of the Rhine; one hundred and sixteen thousand Russians were advancing in two armies through Poland, but could not arrive before two months: and besides these, an Austrian reserve of thirty thousand was forming at Vienna; and there were thirty thousand Rus-

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sians and Swedes in Pomerania. It was on the 1st of September, 1805, that Napoleon, satisfied that the disasters of his fleet under Villeneuve, on the 22d of July, and the subsequent mistakes of that admiral, had rendered his armament at Boulogne unavailing against England, issued orders for all the troops between Cherbourg and Hamburg to concentrate in Bavaria. The forces at his disposal at present consisted of thirty-five thousand men in Italy under Massena, besides fifteen thousand near Naples; twenty-four thousand Bavarian and Würtemberg troops, in alliance with France; and his grand army of one hundred and eighty thousand men, on the shores of the channel, in Holland, and in Hanover. Occupying a central situation, he determined again to put in operation the strategy which had so often led to the most brilliant results; and by taking advantage of Mack's advanced position, fall suddenly upon his communications, and surround him, before any relief could reach him. In the beginning of September, this army, consisting of one hundred and eighty thousand men, divided into eight corps, under Bernadotte, Marmont, Davoust, Soult, Lannes, Ney, Augereau, and Murat, besides the guards under Mortier and Bessières, and a corps of Bavarians under Wrede, was moved forward from various points with the utmost celerity, and arrived on the Rhine from the 17th to the 23d of that month. Ney, Lannes, and Soult, with the guards, and Murat's corps of cavalry, were directed upon Donaworth and Dettingen on the Danube, beyond Ulm; Davoust and Marmont, upon Neuberg; Bernadotte and the Bavarian corps, upon Ingolstadt; while Augereau advanced from the Black Forest into the Tyrolese Alps. Mack, at the first intelligence of the

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movement of this army, concentrated his forces in Ulm, Memmingen, and Stockach, expecting an attack in front, when, to his dismay, in the beginning of October, he found the whole army of Napoleon in his rear, between Vienna and his headquarters. He immediately threw up entrenchments at Memmingen, and assembled all his forces in that place and Ulm. By the middle of October, the corps of Marmont and Soult, and the imperial guards, were in Augsburg; Bernadotte was in possession of Munich, in observation of the expected Russian army; Murat on the right bank of the Danube, and Ney on the left, were in possession of all the bridges upon that river; and the other corps were arranged in such manner as to complete the circle as closely as possible around the devoted Mack. A body of four thousand Austrians, under General Auffemberg, who were despatched by Mack to give assistance to Reinmayer, near Donaworth, were surrounded and cut to pieces by Murat, as is stated in the biographical notice of that marshal. To deliver himself from the fate which threatened him, Mack, about the 8th of October, turned his army toward the northeast, in hopes to regain the Bohemian frontier; he established his headquarters in Burgau, between Ulm and Augsburg, and occupied with a considerable force Gunzburg, where there was a bridge over the Danube. On the 9th, the Austrians in this town were attacked by Ney with superior numbers, and driven out at the point of the bayonet; and Mack, discouraged, retired his headquarters to Ulm, followed by Ney, whose advanced guard, under Dupont, had a sharp and sanguinary engagement with twenty thousand Austrians at Hasslach on the 11th. On the same day, Soult was de-

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spatched against Memmingen; and having completed the investment of it on the 13th, the garrison of four thousand, being without supplies, surrendered on the first summons. Immediately after, he marched with three of his divisions to Biberach, and with the fourth he joined Marmont and Lannes upon the southeast of Ulm, while Napoleon advanced with his imperial guard from Augsburg to Burgau, and Ney, on the north, completed the fatal circle which surrounded the Austrian. On the 14th, occurred the battle of Elchingen, of which an account will be given in the life of Ney: the archduke Ferdinand, on the same day, made a sortie for the purpose of reaching Bohemia, and, though he effected his own escape, the greater part of his troops under Werneck were captured by Murat. On the 18th, the heights of Michelsberg, which look down into Ulm, at half-cannon-shot distance, were carried; and Napoleon, having now a hundred thousand men surrounding forty thousand Austrians, summoned Mack to surrender, and sent General De Segur to negotiate with him. Segur was authorized to offer him no more than five days, and as Mack, who had some hopes of being relieved by the Russians, demanded eight, this conference ended without success. On the following day, Segur was sent again by Napoleon to offer eight days, counting from the first day on which the blockade began, which in effect, reduced the time to six days; but Mack, whose imbecile obstinacy thought it a greater triumph to carry a trifling point than to secure an important one, replied, "Eight days or death!" Soon after, Prince Lichtenstein visited the French headquarters, and the picture which the emperor drew of the hopelessness of the Austrian's position, induced him to make such a

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report to Mack, that the latter on the next day signed a capitulation, engaging that the fortress should be given up and the troops surrendered as prisoners of war on the 25th, if not sooner relieved by the Russians. Napoleon then sent for Mack to his headquarters, at the Abbey of Elchingen, and entering into conversation with him, impressed him with such terror that he agreed to surrender immediately upon the simple condition that Ney's corps should remain at Ulm until the 25th. On the morning of the 20th of October, the garrison of Ulm, amounting to thirty thousand men, with sixty pieces of cannon, marched out, and defiling for five hours past Napoleon and his staff, who stood before the fire of a bivouac on an elevated site to the north of the city, laid down their arms in sullen stillness.

1805.

Napoleon, who, if he commonly treated his political opponents with ceaseless obloquy and insult, knew how to behave with magnanimity to defeated military foes, addressed the officers with kindness and respect: "Gentlemen," said he, "war has its chances: victorious yourselves on many an occasion, you must expect sometimes to endure reverses." Napoleon immediately sent to the senate, at Paris, forty standards taken at Ulm, and soon after issued to the army one of the finest proclamations that he ever sent forth. "Soldiers of the grand army!" he said: "In a fortnight we have finished one campaign. What we proposed to do, has been done. * * * The army, which, with equal presumption and rashness, marched upon our frontiers, is annihilated. Of one hundred thousand men who formed that army, sixty thousand are prisoners. Two hundred pieces of cannon, ninety flags, and all

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their generals, are in our power. Soldiers, I announce to you the result of a great battle: but, thanks to the ill-advised conduct of the enemy, I secured this result without encountering danger, and, what is without example in history, it has been gained at the sacrifice of scarce fifteen hundred men. * * * But we will not stop here. The Russian army which English gold has brought from the extremity of the world, shall share the fate of that which we have just defeated. * * * All that I am anxious for, is to obtain the victory with the least possible bloodshed. My soldiers are my children."

Not a moment was lost in putting in execution these ulterior designs. Ney was detached to clear the Tyrol of the troops which threatened the right flank of the advancing army: Napoleon himself arrived at Munich on the 24th. Augsburg was made the grand dépôt, and the whole army, in successive corps, rolled in a resistless torrent down the valley of the Danube. It was during this march that Mortier, on the left bank, separated too far from the advanced-guard, encountered the Russian army under Kutusoff at Diernstein, and met with disaster, of which an account will be given in the notice on that marshal. Meanwhile, the archduke Charles, who had gained some advantage over Massena in Italy, alarmed for the safety of the capital, retreated hastily to Laybach, with the intention of throwing himself into Vienna; but Napoleon, with his usual rapidity, had sent forward Lannes and Murat, who, on the 13th of November, seized the bridge of Vienna, and thus cut off the communication of that prince with the Russian army on the north, and threw him back into Hungary. On the same day, Napoleon entered Vienna, and

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established his headquarters at Schoenbrunn. Kutusoff, thus separated from the archduke, and deprived of the barrier of the river, was obliged to retire upon the second Russian army, which was now approaching. Mortier and Bernadotte pressed eagerly upon their rear, and Murat was sent forward with orders to reach Znaim, if possible, before the retreating enemy, by which they would be cut off from communicating with their allies. Kutusoff, however, eluded and triumphed over the designs of Murat, and fixing Bagrathion at Grund to encounter and delay the French troops, he effected a junction with the residue of the Russian forces at Wischau, in Moravia, on the 19th of November. On the 20th, Napoleon moved his headquarters to Brunn, and on the 25th, while reconnoitring with his staff, he came to the village of Austerlitz, where the road from Brunn toward Hungary crosses that from Nicholsburg. Struck with the military advantages of the position, he turned to his officers and said, "Examine these localities well: in a few days this will be your field of battle."

The annals of war do not exhibit a more splendid illustration of faultless military science, than is shown in the dispositions of the various corps of Napoleon's army at this time. Advanced an immense distance into the midst of nations in arms, and surrounded by armies far more numerous than his own, it was the superiority of his mind and the perfection of his strategy alone, that saved him from ruin, and gave him the glorious victory which was at hand. His arrangements at this time were nothing more than an exhibition, on a magnificent scale, of the same simple principle which he had so often acted on before — of occupying a central position, with all his forces in perfect communication, in such a

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way that, spread out, they divided the enemy's corps from one another, and, drawing together, they could, in a brief space of time, accumulate their whole force upon any part of the circumference which the enemy covered. On the present occasion, the emperor's dispositions enabled him to accomplish the most important political results, without departing from the strictest military prudence. On the 25th of November, the positions of the contending powers were as follows: The allied army, eighty thousand strong, with the emperors of Austria and Russia, and the grand-duke Constantine in person, was in a strong position under the cannon of Olmutz; and the archduke Charles with a force quite as large was approaching on the southeast of Vienna, to effect a junction with them. Napoleon, with the corps of Lannes and Soult, the imperial guard, and the cavalry under Murat, making a force in all of sixty thousand, was at Brunn; Mortier, with his shattered corps, was in garrison at Vienna; Bernadotte, with his own troops and the Bavarians, was near Iglau, in observation of the archduke Ferdinand, who with the force that he escaped from Ulm with, was approaching along the Danube; Davoust was advanced toward Presburg; Marmont was on the road to Styria, observing the archduke Charles, and in communication with Massena on the extreme right. On the 27th and 28th, the movements of the imperial troops rendered it obvious that they were about to bring on a general engagement: the French advanced guards were driven in, the allied headquarters were advanced to Wischau, with the outposts within two leagues of Austerlitz. Napoleon instantly sent orders to Bernadotte to leave the Bavarians at Iglau, and advance with his own corps, by forced marches to Brunn; similar

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orders were sent to Mortier, at Vienna, and Marmont was directed to occupy that city; and, Davoust was recalled from Presburg to Nicholsburg to form the French right. By this concentration, the army under Napoleon was raised at once to ninety thousand men. On the 29th, the enemy manœuvred in a contradictory manner, as if their plans were not decided; but, on the following day, their light troops were observed marching by their left, apparently with the view of turning the French right, so as to cut them off from Vienna. This plan was an extremely plausible one, but it involved one fatal military error, that of executing a lateral movement directly in front of a formidable enemy. Napoleon, who for two days had been constantly on horseback at the advanced posts, observing the enemy's operations, instantly saw the design, and felt that if he could draw the whole army into such a movement, its fate was sealed. To lure the enemy more certainly into the error which they seemed disposed to commit, he abandoned the heights of Pratzen, the highest ground in the neighborhood, evacuated Austerlitz, and concentrated his army about Brunn. Explaining to his surprised generals the profound conception upon which he was proceeding, he said, "If I wished to gain an ordinary victory, I should receive battle on these heights; but, as my object is to betray the enemy into irretrievable ruin, I seduce him by the bribe of that position." On the morning of the 1st of December, the whole force of the allies was descried moving upon their left to turn the right flank of the French army; and, Napoleon, as he watched the operation, exclaimed with the prophetic confidence of science, "Before to-morrow night that army is my own." During the

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whole day, the allies were executing this flank movement, divided into five columns, and on the night of the 1st, their positions were as follows: the first column, constituting their left wing, under Buxhowden, was advanced as far as Augezd, beyond the French right; the second, under Langeron, and the third, under Prybyszeweki, were on the heights of Pratzen, and the eminence directly behind it; the fourth and fifth, under Miloradowitch and Lichtenstein, were next in order; and the reserves, under the grand-duke Constantine, were on the elevated ground before Austerlitz. The whole allied force was sixty-five thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry. On the other hand the French army, consisting now of ninety thousand men, occupied a position behind a small stream, and some marshes, between Brunn and Austerlitz, on both sides of the great road which runs from Brunn, through the latter village, to Olmutz. Their right, under Davoust, rested on Lake Mœnitz, with its reserve behind the abbey of Raygern; the centre, under Soult, was pushed forward into and beyond the village directly in front of Pratzen, so that as soon as the lateral movement of the enemy was resumed in the morning, and was sufficiently developed, he might fall upon their flank and sever the army in half: the left rested on the hill of Bosenitzberg, which was occupied by artillery, with an advance guard of cavalry in front of it: the left wing consisted of Lannes' corp, which was at the base of the hill; next to whom, on the right, was Bernadotte, and on his left, on the other side of the Olmutz road, were the grenadiers of Oudinot; Murat's cavalry, and the imperial guard, under Bessieres, forming a second line. At two o'clock in the morning, the allied columns were

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in full march to carry out the movement begun the day before, and at three their advanced cavalry reached the village of Tilnitz. It was a winter morning; a low fog rested upon the ground: Napoleon stood in front of his tent, which was pitched on an elevated spot to the right of the high road, and commanded a view of the whole scene: his marshals, on horseback, were grouped around him. At length the mists rolled away and the broad yellow sun rose in cloudless effulgence above the horizon—that "sun of Austerlitz" which was so often hailed by Napoleon as the star of his brightest destiny. The enemy had descended from the heights of Pratzen, and the whole army was in motion to turn the French right. The marshals now comprehended the splendid advantage which the genius of Napoleon had foreseen and prepared, and eagerly asked for the signal to advance. "Not yet, gentlemen," said Napoleon; "not yet: when your enemy is executing a false movement never interrupt him." At length, a violent firing was heard on the right, and, intelligence arrived that the left wing of the allies was entering Tilnitz. "Now is the moment!" said the emperor.* The marshals galloped off, each to the head of his corps; and, Napoleon, mounting his horse, rode along the line, exclaiming, "Soldiers, the enemy has imprudently exposed himself to our blows: we shall finish the campaign by a clap of thunder!"

On the French right, the Russian left wing assaulted and carried the village of Tilnitz, with irresistible fury;

* "Success in war," said Napoleon, ten years afterward, at St. Helena, "depends so much on quicksightedness, and on seizing the right moment, that the battle of Austerlitz, which was so completely won, would have been lost, if I had attacked six hours sooner."

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pressed on to Sokelnitz, which was also carried, and appeared in triumph beyond the flank of Davoust: that cool and courageous commander, however, marched his reserves from behind Raygern, and drew them in front of Sokelnitz, as the Russians, disordered by success were issuing out of it; they were speedily driven back and the village retaken, but again renewing the assault, a protracted and sanguinary contest ensued. On the left, Lannes and Bernadotte, advancing with great rapidity for the purpose of detaining the allied right or rear, while Soult fell upon their centre, gained so much ground with their infantry, that Kellermann, with a body of horse, charged the Russian imperial guard: but Lichtenstein issued forth with the powerful corps of Austrian cuirassiers, drove Kellermann back, and, disordering the French line, penetrated into the interval between Lannes and Bernadotte; here they were met and repelled by Murat, at the head of the cavalry of Napoleon's guard, and being at the same time taken on both flanks by the artillery, nearly half of these splendid troops were destroyed. Meanwhile, Soult's decisive movement, on the centre, was proceeding with full success. The second and third columns of the enemy had just descended the heights of Pratzen, and the fourth was preparing to cross them, when Soult's front, in attacking column, appeared upon the flank of their open marching column. Kutusoff immediately ordered the third column to regain the heights, and disposed the fourth column in array of battle, two lines deep, to receive the attack: but before this could be done, Soult had ascended the heights, and broken and driven back the Russian front line with the loss of several pieces of cannon. A desperate con-

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flict followed; but after two hours, the six Russian battalions who occupied the highest position were cut to pieces, and the heights were carried. About one o'clock, while the victory was thus undecided, a most formidable body of infantry and cavalry was seen debouching upon the plain between the French centre and left. It consisted of the Russian imperial guard, led by the grand-duke Constantine in person; a number of squadrons of horse, being Ouvaroff's cavalry and the remains of Lichtenstein's cuirassiers, together with a battery of four pieces. The infantry advancing, engaged with Vandamme's division, while the cavalry attacked the French column in flank and threw them into disorder. Napoleon immediately despatched Rapp with two squadrons of chasseurs, and the grenadiers of the guard, to check these horse, and desired Bessières to support him with all the cavalry of the guard. Rapp cried out to his men, "Forward; see how your brothers and friends are getting cut to pieces: avenge them; avenge our flags:" and rushing forward drove the enemy's cavalry back and captured the guns. The Russians rallied and advanced in great force, but Bessières, by this time, had arrived: a close contest, "horse to horse, and hand to hand," succeeded, in which both cavalry and infantry fought with the deadliest fury, and so intermingled that the artillery of neither party dared to fire, for fear of killing their own men. At length, the enthusiasm of the French bore everything down before them; and the enemy fled in disorder, in sight of the two emperors of Russia and Austria, who from the neighboring height beheld the ruin of their hopes. This action decided the day.* Soult, who

* Gerard's celebrated picture of the battle of Austerlitz, represents

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was now advanced nearly a mile from the first line of battle, inclined to the right, and co-operated with Davoust in surrounding the Austrian left wing; while Napoleon sent the imperial guard to aid in the same design. Doctoroff's, Langeron's, and Buxhowden's corps, forming the whole left, were successively taken in flank, separated and surrounded: ten thousand were made prisoners or slain, and a large body were driven over a frozen lake, of which the ice gave way with their weight, and above two thousand were drowned. On the left, the advantage, after a protracted contest had become equally decided in favor of the French: the heights of Blasowitz and Kruh, and the village of Hollubitz, were carried, and the enemy routed, with the exception of one close column which retreated under Bagrathion, and which, though repeatedly assailed by Suchet's and Murat's cavalry, made good its retirement to Austerlitz, with the loss of all the baggage. On this memorable day, the allies lost ten thousand killed and wounded, and twenty thousand prisoners; one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon, and forty-five standards: while so utter was the disorganization of their army, and the panic of its leaders, that at a council held at the imperial headquarters that night, it was decided that a further continuation of hostilities was hopeless, and at four o'clock the next morning Prince Lichtenstein arrived at Napoleon's headquarters with proposals for an armistice. Such was the battle of Austerlitz; to which may with truth be applied what the Roman historian has said of the victory gained by Lu-

Rapp, covered with blood from a wound in his head, riding up to inform Napoleon that the battle was gained. Rapp was immediately made a general of division.

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cullus over Tigranes, that "the sun never shone upon such a victory." When Napoleon met Soult, in the evening, upon the field of battle, he said to him, "Marshal, you are the first tactician in Europe," (*le premier manœuvrier de l'Europe*). "Sire," replied Soult, with a felicity of compliment that would have done honor to the court of Louis XIV., "I believe it, since it is your majesty that has the goodness to tell me so." On the 4th of December, Napoleon and the emperor Francis, had a personal interview at a mill about three leagues from Austerlitz; on the 6th an armistice was signed at Austerlitz; on the 27th the peace of Presburgh was concluded between France and Austria; and, on the 25th of January, 1806, Napoleon, having passed through Vienna and Munich, reached Paris, which he entered at night unattended. Just four months had elapsed since he left it to take command of the army: and in that time, the magnificent armies of Russia and Austria had been utterly destroyed, and the latter empire trampled under the feet of the conqueror.

In the campaigns of 1806 and 1807, in Prussia and Poland, Soult again commanded the fourth corps with memorable distinction. At the battle of Jena, where he commanded the right wing, his opportune attack upon the centre mainly contributed to the brilliant result on that occasion. On the next day, he defeated Marshal Kalkreuth at Greussen; and paying no attention to the statements of that general, that an armistice had been concluded, pursued vigorously the king of Prussia, and began the blockade of Magdeburg. Soult continued to take an active part in all the subsequent operations in Prussia, and in the engagements at Pul-

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tusk and Heilsberg in 1807. His able and courageous conduct at Eylau, is recorded in the history of that battle in the life of Davoust; and it is said to have been owing to his advice that Napoleon kept his position on the field of battle, and so acquired the moral advantages of a victory. When Napoleon referred to the enormous loss he had sustained, and suggested a retreat, Soult is reported to have replied: "Let us stay where we are, sire; for, although we suffer cruelly, we shall pass for the conquerors, if we remain last on the field of battle: I have observed movements in the Russian army, which induce me to think that Beningsen will avail himself of the darkness to retreat." Napoleon, who was well acquainted with Soult's uncommon penetration, adopted his advice, and the result proved the sagacity of the counsel.

In 1808, Soult was created duke of Dalmatia, and accompanied Napoleon into Spain in November of that year, when he went to direct in person the operations in the peninsula. On the morning of the 8th of November, the emperor, accompanied by Soult and Lannes, left Bayonne, and reached Vittoria the same evening. Arriving at the gates of the town, he jumped from his horse, and entering the first inn that he observed, called for his maps and the reports of the situations of both armies, and proceeded at once to settle the plan of campaign. Soult was appointed to take the command of the second corps, then under Bessières at Briviesca, and to fall directly upon the Conde de Belvedere, who was at Burgos; and the emperor, with the imperial guards and the reserve, was to follow the movements of that corps. The operations of the other corps were marked out in a corresponding manner, and the whole

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plan was put instantly into execution. Soult set out that night for Briviesca, and arriving there at daybreak on the 9th, received from Bessières the command of the second corps, and in a few hours was on the road to Burgos, near to which headquarters were established that night. At an early hour on the 10th of November, the Conde de Belvedere drew up his army, one of the best then in the Spanish service, at Gamonal. Some skirmishing between advanced parties took place about seven o'clock, in which the Spanish were driven back, and disclosed Belvedere's line of battle, consisting of eleven thousand infantry, regular troops, and twelve hundred cavalry, covered by thirty pieces of artillery. Soult's corps then fell upon them, and in an instant they were broken and fled in confusion. The dispositions of the French commander had provided for intercepting their retreat in all directions, and the slaughter was therefore great. Twenty-five hundred Spaniards were killed, and nine hundred taken on the field, together with six pairs of colors, twenty guns, and thirty ammunition-wagons. Occupying Burgos, and seizing the military stores collected there, Soult despatched part of his corps in pursuit of Belvidere toward Lerma, and with another part pressed toward Reynosa, to intercept Blake's retreat from Espinosa. On the 13th, his advanced-guard at Reynosa fell in with and attacked Blake's retiring army, and utterly defeated it. Soult then spread his troops over Montana and Leon, driving everything before them, and clearing the whole country north of Burgos, from any possibility of the communications with France being disturbed. On the 28th of November, the emperor in person advanced from Miranda, across the Somo-Sierra, to Madrid, which he

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reached on the 2d of December, and took possession of on the 4th. Resting here for a few days, to concentrate his forces, and consolidate the immense conquests which he had made, the emperor's intention was again to open the floodgates of invasion, and sweep through the south of Spain, as he had swept through the north. Never had this great chief displayed mightier genius and energy, and never had his troops accomplished his purposes with more brilliant decision. Everything was to be dreaded from a conqueror, who in twenty days had mastered a third of the kingdom and reduced the capital; and the total ruin of Spain seemed to be inevitable. This catastrophe was averted, and the independence of the nation saved, by the genius and daring of Sir John Moore.

In the end of November, and the early part of December, this general was at Salamanca. He perceived the designs of Napoleon, and with consummate sagacity and a boldness worthy of the skill which had suggested the plan, he determined to precipitate his whole force upon Soult, who was in the neighborhood of Burgos. This assault upon the flank and rear of Napoleon's operations, which threatened wholly to cut off his communications with France, Moore foresaw would break up the emperor's plans in an instant: if he remained at Madrid, Soult might be overwhelmed and defeated; if, as was quite certain, he turned at once upon Moore, the southern provinces would be delivered, and would have time to rally and organize. These results were accomplished by the English commander, with the most admirable success. While the emperor advanced against Madrid, and Lannes was directed upon Tudela and Saragossa, Soult's force had been ordered to con-

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centrate on the Carrion, and act as a corps of observation. About the middle of December, Soult's army occupied Carrion, Saldagna, and Sahagun. On the 11th of December, Sir John Moore, having established magazines in his rear at Benavente, Astorga, and Lugo, and made every arrangement to secure a rapid retreat toward Portugal, advanced from Salamanca; and Sir David Baird moving forward from Astorga about the same time, the whole English force united on the 20th at Mayorga and Melgar Abaxo. The same night, Lord Paget fell, with the advanced-guard, upon the French posts at Sahagun, and drove them in with some loss: the residue of the English army halted on the 22d and 23d, to wait for supplies. Moore was preparing to move during the night of the 23d to Carrion, with the hope of surprising the bridge there before daylight, and assailing Soult's main force at Saldagna. The troops were actually in march to execute this plan, when intelligence reached Sir John, that Napoleon, informed of his movements, had left Madrid with nearly his whole army, and was advancing with the utmost celerity to fall upon his communications. Sir John's principal purpose was accomplished, and he instantly fell back to Benavente, and thence to Astorga, and made every arrangement for a rapid retreat to Portugal or the western coast of Spain. The emperor directed his course to Benavente, and Soult, assuming the offensive, moved toward Astorga by the Mancilla road. On the 28th, Napoleon reached the left bank of the Esla, but the prey had escaped him: he was twelve hours too late, and Moore was in full retreat through Astorga. On the 30th, a detachment of the cavalry of the imperial guard, under General Lefebvre-Desnouettes, crossed the Esla,

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and being attacked by Lord Paget, were routed, and Lefebvre wounded and made prisoner. On the 31st of December, Sir John Moore left Astorga for Lugo; and on the 1st of January, 1809, at Astorga, Napoleon and Soult united their forces, consisting of seventy thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry, and two hundred pieces of artillery. Here the emperor was recalled to Paris by the operations of Austria; and returning thither to open the campaign of Eckmuhl and Wagram, he left Soult in supreme command, to continue the pursuit with twenty thousand infantry, five thousand cavalry, and fifty guns, followed at some distance by Ney with the sixth corps of sixteen thousand men. With a vigor and decision, caught from the great commander whose place he was occupying, Soult pressed rapidly forward upon the track of Sir John Moore, who hastened to his ships, with the intention of embarking and passing round by sea to the south. On the 3d of January, an engagement took place at Calcabellos between the English rear-guard and the French light cavalry, in which General Colbert, the commander of the latter, was killed. On the evening of the 5th, Sir John drew up his whole army at Lugo, for the purpose of giving battle to his pursuers, if pressed, or, at least, of allowing his men time to rest and reorganize. About noon on the 7th, Soult arrived at the head of ten or twelve thousand men, and finding a formidable assemblage of the enemy before him, which the nature of the ground did not permit him to measure with accuracy, he sent some squadrons with four guns to open a fire upon the British centre. Fifteen guns replied; and Soult, now satisfied that the principal part of the English army was before him, halted to wait for the residue of his forces.

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On the 8th, both armies were in array, and the English expected an attack. Soult, however, postponed it until the 9th; and during the night, chiefly in consequence of the failure of Spanish co-operation, Sir John drew off to Betanzos, and thence to the heights of Corunna, where he arrived on the 11th. Here the whole British army was concentrated; and the transports arriving on the 14th, the stores were shipped, and arrangements made to embark the troops on the night of the 16th–17th. Meanwhile, on the 12th, Soult came up with the greatest part of his infantry; but the cavalry, having been delayed by the destruction of the bridges at Burgo, did not arrive until the 14th. During the 15th, the French dispositions were made; and about three in the afternoon, the opening of a heavy fire on the left, and the advance of three formidable columns, announced that a general engagement was at hand.

The English force, at Corunna, amounted to less than fifteen thousand men. The right consisted of Baird's division, which was in an exposed and unfavorable position; the centre rested upon the village of Elvina, and the left was formed of Hope's division, beyond the village of Palavia Abaxo; Paget's cavalry, and Frazer's division of infantry being in reserve. The force under Soult was not less than twenty thousand; Laborde's division, composing the right, Merle's the centre, and Mermet's the left, with a battery of eleven heavy guns upon its extreme left. Opening a steady fire from this battery, Soult's columns advanced obliquely against the English right and centre. The first column, driving in the outposts at Elvina, turned then to their left to outflank Baird's division, and assail it upon its left; the next column penetrated into the

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village; and a third marched against Hope's division Moore's dispositions were made with consummate ability. Paget's reserve, supported by Frazer, was ordered to pass round beyond the French left, threaten the great battery, and assail the French positions in flank. At the same time, the fourth regiment which formed Baird's extreme right, was drawn back, and facing to the left, was ordered to open a fire upon the flank of the column which was advancing to turn Baird's position. These orders were executed with promptness and success: but, in the meantime, the village of Elvina became the scene of a close and severe struggle. The French column, upon its first approach, was received at the point of the bayonet, by the fiftieth and forty-second, and driven out. The combat was renewed beyond the village with some success on the part of the French, who again entered the village, and were again encountered with an obstinate resistance. While observing the battle in Elvina, and animating the troops by words of encouragement, Sir John Moore was desperately wounded by a cannon-shot, which carried away his left shoulder. He was borne from the field of his fame; but not until the battle was visibly gained. For, Paget's movements had driven the French dragoons in the rear of the battery, from the ground; the French infantry, after a protracted struggle, had been expelled from Elvina; and, on the left, Hope had carried the village of Palavia Abaxo: everywhere, the British line was advanced beyond the positions which it had occupied in the morning, and Soult's columns were retiring in disorder. Sir John Hope, who upon the death of Moore, took the command, embarked the English during the night; and, on the following

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morning, the French beheld their opponents standing out to sea. Moore, wrapped in his military cloak, was buried by his staff officers, in the citadel of Corunna; and, Soult, in a spirit worthy of the age of chivalry, erected a monument to his memory.

Soon after the battle of Corunna, Soult took possession of Ferrol in the name of King Joseph: and, here, despatches from Napoleon were received, dated at Valladolid, prescribing to him an immediate advance through Portugal to Oporto, to co-operate, in an attack upon Lisbon, with Victor, who had arrived at Alcantara, and was to proceed through Merida. "The emperor," said Berthier, at the conclusion of his despatch, "has unlimited confidence in your talents for the fine expedition which he has charged you with." Soult re-organized his army at St. Jago de Compostella, and, on the 1st of February, 1809, began his forward movement toward the Minho, with an army of fourteen thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry, and fifty-eight pieces of artillery. Advancing through Redondela and Tuy, his troops, after encountering many obstacles from the state of the roads and streams, were assembled, on the 16th, on the banks of the Minho, between Salvatierra, Guardia, and Redondela. Baffled by the swollen state of the river, and the gallant resistance of the Portuguese on the opposite bank, in an attempt to cross at Campo Saucos, Soult changed the line of his march, and moved up the stream upon Ridabavia, Barbantes, and Orense, where ferries and a bridge enabled him to pass. The most serious obstacles opposed themselves to the further advance of the French. A formidable body of native troops were to be encountered; the peasantry, animated by the ut-

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most hostility, were to be repelled at every step; and the army was to move over a country almost impracticable from the condition of the roads, and the state of the weather. It was a state of things to which the genius and temper of Soult were particularly adapted, and he triumphed over every difficulty with the most distinguished ability. Passing through Monterey, where a considerable body under Romana was routed, Soult took possession of Chaves, on the 13th; defeated the Portuguese again in a general engagement, at Braga, on the 20th; and, arrived before Oporto, on the 27th. Preparations for the defence of the city had been made by the bishop, and the popular feeling within the walls was vehemently excited against the invaders. Soult's summons to surrender was rejected; and, at an early hour on the morning of the 29th, his troops moved forward to the assault of the city. Advancing in three powerful columns, the works were stormed and carried with irresistible fury, the Portuguese troops within swept away by the impetuosity of the onset, and the city made the prey of an incensed and ruthless army. In spite of the earnest endeavors of the French marshal to control his men, a terrible scene of carnage and violence ensued; multitudes were driven into the river; others were put to the sword. Ten thousand Portuguese perished on that dreadful day. The French loss was about five hundred.

The tardiness of Victor's advance along the valley of the Tagus, rendered impracticable an immediate advance, by Soult, upon Lisbon. He turned his attention, therefore, to the securing of his conquest by occupying the best military positions in the country, and by establishing such civil regulations as restored the tran-

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quillity of the country, and gave to the French the character of allies and rulers, rather than invaders and conquerors. Soult's administrative talents were displayed with great success, and the region Entre Minho e Douro, enjoyed greater repose and order than it had done under any of the previous governments. He pursued, indeed, the system of conciliation with so much earnestness, as very soon to raise suspicions of a design on his part to make himself king. The recent example of Murat gave hope to almost any project of ambition, and Soult felt that his own abilities were far superior to those of the king of Naples. His schemes were laid, however, with so much skill, and followed out so cautiously, that in the event of the emperor's disapproving of his project, it could readily be disowned. A deputation of a dozen inhabitants of Braga waited on the marshal, a fortnight after his arrival, and soon after published, with an account of this interview, a proclamation in terms like these : " The former government of the country," it declared, " cared for nothing but the increase of its own revenues. The house of Braganza has ceased to reign, and Providence, who watches over our destinies, has sent among us a man who has no other aim than glory, and no wish but to exercise the power which Napoleon has given him,in a way to rescue us from the anarchy which envelops us. Why should we hesitate to rally about him, and proclaim him the liberator of the nation? The emperor of the French will give us his support, and will be delighted to see one of his lieutenants become our sovereign." This document bears evident marks of having been composed under Soult's own direction, and as it was published in a journal under his control, his

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approval of it is unquestionable. Soon after, another deputation waited upon him for the same purpose, and he listened long to their recital of the benefits which a French prince could confer upon Portugal. "As for myself," he replied, "I feel all the gratitude that is due to your flattering views in relation to me, but it does not rest with me to give you a reply." Memorials signed with the names of thirty thousand persons were also presented; but most of the names are supposed to have been forged: and all these documents were burnt when the army evacuated Oporto. Soult's caution and coolness kept him from being too far committed, and at the first intimation of the emperor's displeasure, the project vanished. Napoleon, when informed of it, affected to treat it as a trifling matter, in his relations with Soult; but to some of the inferior agents, who were most active in promoting the design, he expressed his anger in very emphatic terms: "If you had gone one step further," he said to one of Soult's aides-de-camp, "I would have had you shot."

But another character was now about to appear upon the scene, before which Soult's genius was destined again and again to be rebuked. On the 22d of April, 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Lisbon, and immediately took the command of the allied British and Portuguese armies. Sending a part of his force to observe and impede the progress of Victor, he directed the residue upon Coimbra; and there, on the 5th of May, twenty-five thousand men, of whom thirteen thousand were British, were concentrated without Soult's having become aware of their approach. On the 9th of May, Soult became aware of the perils of his position, and made rapid arrangements for a retreat.

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On the morning of the 12th, the British columns arrived on the left bank of the Douro, opposite to Oporto, and on the same day, Wellesley accomplished that celebrated passage of the river, which first gave him a military celebrity in Europe, and drew from Napoleon the brief but significant remark, "c'est un bon general." Soult immediately evacuated the city and retired upon Vallonga. Pursued with the utmost vigor by such an enemy as Wellesley, nothing but the most prompt and sagacious measures saved his army from total destruction. At Pennafiel, on the 13th, he destroyed his artillery, and abandoned his military stores and baggage, and passing rapidly over the mountains, through Pompeira and Guimaraens, arrived, on the 15th, at Braga, where the army was reorganized and rested. Placing Loison at the head of the army, and taking command of the rear-guard in person, he retired through Salamonde to Montalegre, where he arrived on the 17th, closely pursued by the English, and, on the 18th, crossed the frontier, and re-entered Orense on the 19th. Seventy-six days had elapsed since Soult had left that city: he now returned to it, having lost six thousand good soldiers, sixty pieces of artillery, and all his baggage.

Having refreshed his army, Soult, on the 21st, left Orense, for Lugo, to raise the siege of that place, which was carried on by the Spanish general Mahi. On the following day, as soon as his advanced guard was discerned from Lugo, Mahi broke up his camp and retired to Mondonedo. Soult, on the 23d, entered Lugo, and soon after he came into communication with Ney, with a view to joint operations against the Marquis de la Romagna. A combined movement against this

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general was arranged, which would have inevitably resulted in his destruction, if the jealousy and misunderstanding of the French marshals had not defeated their own plans, and rendered the whole scheme abortive. Soult then marched across to Zamora, which he entered on the 2d of July; and Ney, on the 30th, occupied Astorga.

On the 30th of June, Soult received a despatch from the emperor, then near Ratisbon, placing Ney and Mortier under his orders, which gave him the supreme command of the second, fifth, and sixth corps. He was directed, at the same time, to act decisively against the English: "Wellesley," said Napoleon, "will probably advance to Madrid by the valley of the Tagus; if so, cross the mountains, fall upon his rear, and crush him." About the middle of July, Wellesley made the movement which Napoleon had predicted; and Soult immediately concentrated his army around Salamanca, and despatched an officer to Joseph, at Madrid, for the purpose of carrying out, in concert, the plan which the emperor had suggested. On the 24th of July, Soult received assurances from Joseph of his willing co-operation in the execution of the proposed design; and, about the 28th, he began the march of his troops upon Placentia. The battle of Talavera, brought on prematurely, upon the 28th, by Joseph and Victor, disconcerted the whole arrangement; but Wellesley was still in imminent danger, for Soult, with three corps of the army, was already in occupation of the right bank of the Tagus, and directly upon the English general's communications. From this embarrassment, Sir Arthur dexterously relieved himself by crossing the river by the bridge of Arsobispo, on the 4th of August.

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On the 8th, Soult came up with the allied rear-guard, under Albuquerque, near Arsobispo, and, seizing the passage, before they became aware of the approach of the French, routed the Spaniards with a loss of four hundred prisoners and five guns. Soon after, despatches arrived from the emperor, at Schoenbrunn, on the 29th of July, directing that farther active operations should be stayed until the troops which the victory of Wagram now placed at his disposal, should be sent into Spain. Accordingly, the second corps was posted at Placentia, the fifth at Talavera, and the 6th at Valladolid: and Wellesley, toward the close of the month, retired into Portugal, and, on the 4th of September, established his headquarters at Badajoz.

Soon after, Jourdan who had held the office of major-general of the French armies, was recalled to France, and Soult was appointed major-general. In the beginning of November, Areizaga, who had been placed at the head of the Spanish armies of La Mancha and Estremadura, advanced with fifty thousand men toward Madrid. Soult immediately put his forces in motion, toward Aranjuez; and, on the 19th, the French, led by Joseph in person, but directed by Soult, came upon the Spaniards in battle array near Ocana. The force of the latter consisted of forty-five thousand infantry, seven thousand cavalry, and sixty pieces of artillery; while the French amounted to only twenty-four thousand infantry, and five thousand cavalry, with fifty guns. The attack began in two columns against the Spanish right and centre: a gallant resistance was made for some time, but, at length, the Spanish line was broken in pieces, and a total and irretrievable rout ensued. In this great victory, eighteen thousand pris-

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oners were taken, besides six hundred inferior officers, and three generals: and, thirty pieces of artillery and twenty-five stand of colors became the trophies of the victors. The French returned to Madrid, and military operations were discontinued on both sides during the remainder of the year.

In the beginning of 1810, the orders of Napoleon directed an invasion of Andalusia, and Soult, attended by King Joseph in person, was charged with the execution of it. On the 20th of January, by a combined and general attack, he broke through the Sierra-Morena, and spread over the rich plains of Andalusia which lie beyond this barrier. On the 1st of February, Soult and the king entered Seville; on the 5th, Malaga was taken; and a few days after, Badajoz was summoned unsuccessfully. Cordova, Grenada, Ubera, and nearly all the principal places in the country, were occupied during February and March; and Cadiz was blockaded by Victor. Joseph about this time returned to Madrid, and Soult remained as commander-in-chief and supreme governor of Andalusia. The administrative talents displayed by Soult in this position, and the ability with which he pacificated the country, conciliated the inhabitants, and drew out the resources of the kingdom for the use of the emperor, form his highest claims to distinction, as a man of enlarged views and judicious policy. On the 1st of November, Soult in person took the direction of the operations against Cadiz, and carried them forward with a vigor and effect that promised a successful issue, when, in the month of December, orders arrived from the emperor, directing an advance into Estremadura. Massena had been charged with an invasion of Portugal from the northwest, and Soult was

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now instructed to co-operate with him by a simultaneous movement through the Alentejo toward Lisbon. The latter represented to the emperor that, after leaving sufficient force to maintain the blockade of Cadiz and to secure the possession of Andalusia, he should have less than twenty thousand men disposable for the march, and that with such an army it would be imprudent to advance, without first reducing Olivenza and Badajoz. The emperor approved of this view; and in the beginning of January, 1811, Soult, at the head of twenty thousand men, of whom four thousand were cavalry, with fifty-four guns, and a besieging train, and large stores, marched into Estremadura. On the 11th, Olivenza was invested, and on the 21st capitulated. On the 26th, he approached Badajoz, drove in the outposts, and began the siege with great energy. A considerable Spanish army, under Mendizabal, assembled for the rescue of the place; and on the 19th of February, Soult crossed the Gebora, behind which these forces were drawn up, attacked and utterly routed fifteen thousand men, taking eight thousand prisoners, and capturing all the guns, colors, and baggage of the enemy. The siege was then renewed with increased activity. Menacho, the governor of Badajoz, was killed in a sortie, which he commanded in person; and General Imas succeeded him in defence of the place. On the 10th of March, the breach being deemed practicable, preparations for an assault were made; but on the following day, upon a summons being made, the place surrendered. Nine thousand men were made prisoners-of-war, and one hundred and seventy pieces of ordnance, eighty thousand quintals of gunpowder, and two complete bridge-equipages in excellent condition,

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fell into the hands of the French. Soon after, Albuquerque and Valentia d'Alcantara were occupied and six hundred prisoners taken. But the failure of Massena's efforts in the north, and the result of the battle of Barosa, fought by Victor in his rear, induced Soult to abandon his further advance, and return to Seville. "In fifty days," says an intelligent historian, in summing up the results of this campaign, "he had mastered four fortresses; he had killed or dispersed ten thousand men, and taken twenty thousand, with a force which, at no time, exceeded the number of his prisoners."

The presence of this able commander in Andalusia was quickly felt in the restoration of confidence and quiet, which had been previously disturbed by the battle of Barosa. The blockade of Cadiz was pressed with fresh vigor, and the defences of Seville and other cities in the French occupation strengthened. The operations in Estremadura, at the same time, were not abandoned. Mortier had been left in charge of the siege of Campo Mayor, which had been invested before Soult's return. After a bombardment of several days, the place surrendered on the 21st of March. But at this time a new foe suddenly appeared in the field, whom the French were destined to find of a very different character from the native troops. An English force of twenty thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, with eighteen guns, had been detached, under Marshal Beresford, by Wellington from the north; and on the 25th of March, they appeared unexpectedly before Campo Mayor. It was immediately abandoned by the French, who were pursued with some loss by the English: soon after, Albuquerque and Valentia d'Alcantara were evacuated; and before the end of

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April, the English had spread themselves over nearly the whole country, and on the 5th of May Badajoz was invested. Soult no sooner heard of these movements, than he rapidly organized a force for the purpose of raising the siege, and on the 10th he moved out of Seville. Beresford, who was in command before Badajoz, heard of his approach on the 13th, and immediately raised the siege, and took position in conjunction with the Spanish generals at the village of Albuera, to receive him. Here, on the 15th, were assembled under Beresford thirty thousand infantry, of whom seven thousand were British, and two thousand cavalry, with thirty-eight pieces of artillery; and the same night Soult arrived with a force of nineteen thousand select infantry, four thousand cavalry, and fifty guns. On the following morning began the most obstinate and sanguinary battle that was fought during the peninsular war: the success of the French at first appeared to be so decisive, that Beresford was about to draw off his troops, when the prompt and sagacious dispositions of Colonel (since Sir Henry) Hardinge restored the day, and in the end repulsed the enemy. On the 18th, Soult retreated to Solano. The allied loss in this severe engagement was seven thousand killed and wounded, of whom forty-five hundred were British, and five hundred made prisoners; and the French loss was eight thousand killed and wounded, among whom were two generals slain and three wounded. On the 20th, Soult retreated through Fuente del Maestro toward Llerena and Usagre, where he took position on the 23d: he was followed by the allied forces, which gave to the drawn battle of Albuera the aspect and effect of a defeat of the French. The siege of Badajoz was at

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once resumed by Wellington with great activity. Soult maintained himself at Llerena until the 14th of June, when he was reinforced by General Drouet, and at once advanced to Fuente del Maestro. Marmont, meanwhile, had taken command of the army of Portugal, and had been directed to move forward toward the Tagus, and communicate with Soult. On the 18th, the two marshals united near Medellin, and the next day entered Badajoz, the blockade of which was raised on the 17th. Everything now indicated a general and decided engagement, and Wellington stood prepared to meet it; but the caution of Soult induced him to decline the risk, and toward the end of the month that marshal returned to Seville. He displayed his usual energy and judgment in repressing insurrections, and quieting the disturbances which had prevailed throughout Andalusia and in Murcia during his absence; and in a short time, his control of these provinces was complete and peaceful. In the following winter, Soult's principal military enterprise was the siege of Tarifa, which was invested on the 20th of December. On the 30th, an assault was repulsed with great loss on the part of the French; and a few days after the besiegers withdrew, having been diminished during the expedition by a thousand men.

On the 17th of March, Badajoz was invested for the third time by the English; and, on the 1st of April, Soult quitted Seville and advanced to Llerena for the purpose of raising the siege. On this occasion, however, his movements were too tardy: Badajoz was carried by assault on the night of the 6th. Soult heard of the fall of the place on the 8th, when he was beyond Fuente del Maestro, in full march to the relief of the

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gallant defenders. During the summer of 1812, Soult, prudently and anxiously, was arranging a system of offensive operations, and combining his resources for their execution, in a manner that promised the most auspicious results, when the terrible defeat of Marmont, at Salamanca, on the 22d of July, paralyzed for ever the French domination in Spain, and, at once, set free the whole south of Spain. Joseph, soon after, despatched peremptory orders to Soult to quit Andalusia, with all his troops, and, Soult, reluctantly yet ably, drawing together his expanded forces, left Seville, on the 26th of August, and marched for Grenada; and, proceeding thence, by Hellin and Almanza, effected a junction, on the 3d of October, with Suchet and Joseph, in Valencia. Here Soult's counsels, adopted for their obvious wisdom, by the king, notwithstanding his personal hostility to that marshal, soon restored some show of prosperity to Joseph's affairs. Madrid was abandoned by the English in the end of October; Soult's operations in the north, during November, compelled Wellington, who had advanced to Burgos, to retire as far as Ciudad Rodrigo. The French crossed the Tormes on the 14th; and, Jourdan earnestly advised an attack, but Soult, with caution too great, dissuaded the king from a battle, and the opportunity which then existed for striking a favorable blow against Wellington, was lost for ever.

Meanwhile, the personal difference which, at an early period, had been created between Soult and King Joseph, in consequence of the distinct, and often opposite, systems of Joseph, as king of Spain, and Soult, as the marshal of the emperor, increased to such an extent, that their co-operation in the same enterprise was no

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longer practicable. When Soult had received at Seville, after the battle of Salamanca, Joseph's imperative directions to evacuate Andalusia, the orders were not accompanied by any such details of that defeat, and the subsequent events, as justified, to the judgment of Soult, such an instantaneous and complete abandonment of all the results of his labors during two toilsome years. To the marshal, therefore, the course which Joseph was pursuing, seemed so inexplicable, that he was led to suspect that the king of Spain contemplated a separate arrangement with the enemy, and was intending to sacrifice the interests of the emperor, and the honor of the army, to the personal advantage of himself and his throne. In preparing, therefore, to obey the orders of Joseph, he determined to give vent to the suspicions which he cherished. He accordingly communicated his views to six generals of his army, having previously engaged them by an oath, not to reveal the matter to any one but the emperor, or persons specially commissioned by him ; and wrote also, on the 12th of August, to the duke de Feltre, minister of war, at Paris, expressing his opinions at large, with regard to the ruinous consequences of Joseph's proceedings, and the probability which they raised of his intention, after leading the French out of Spain, "d'en profiter par quelque arrangement." This despatch was sent by sea, and the vessel which carried it touched at Valencia while Joseph was there. The letter was opened, and Colonel Desprez was immediately sent on a special mission to the emperor, who was then at Moscow, to lay complaints before him of Soult's negligence, and of his design to make himself king of Andalusia, and to insist, absolutely, upon his recall. The reception

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which the emperor gave to these representations of his brother's displeasure, was not particularly flattering. "The emperor, when he came to the duke of Dalmatia's letter," Colonel Desprez wrote to the king of Spain, in giving him an account of his interview with Napoleon at Moscow, "told me that it had already reached him through another channel, but that he attached no importance to it; Marshal Soult was mistaken, but he could not give his attention to such fooleries (semblables pauvretés) at a time when he was at the head of five hundred thousand men, and was in the midst of immense enterprises; but, for the rest, the duke of Dalmatia's suspicions did not much astonish him, for there were many other generals in Spain who agreed in thinking that your majesty preferred Spain to France, and, indeed, that all who judged by your speeches would come to the same conclusion, though he (the emperor) was satisfied that your heart was French. He added that Marshal Soult was the only military head the French army in Spain possessed, and that he could not withdraw him without compromitting its safety." When Soult joined the king in Valencia, Joseph offered his command, successively, to Jourdan and to Suchet, and abstained from displacing him only because neither of the other marshals would consent to accept. In the spring of 1813, the king's impatience of Soult became irrepressible, and he wrote decisively to the emperor, at Paris. "Either the duke of Dalmatia or himself must quit Spain. At Valencia," he said, "he had forgotten his own injuries, he had suppressed his just indignation, and, instead of sending Marshal Soult to France, had given him the direction of the operations against the allies, but it was in the

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hope that shame for the past, combined with his avidity for glory, would urge him to extraordinary exertions, but nothing of the kind had happened; Soult was not a man to be trusted. Restless, intriguing, ambitious, he would sacrifice everything to his own advancement, and possessed just that sort of talent which would lead him to mount a scaffold, when he thought he was ascending the steps of a throne, because he would want the courage to strike when the crisis arrived. He acquitted him," he added, "of treachery at the passage of the Tormes, for, there, fear alone operated to prevent him from bringing the allies to a decisive engagement, but, he was, nevertheless, treacherous to the emperor, and his proceedings in Spain were probably connected with the conspiracy of Mallet at Paris." These wild accusations had no effect to disturb Napoleon's confidence, but in decent respect to his brother he could no longer refuse his demand, and Soult was, accordingly, recalled in March, 1813.

Soult joined the army under Napoleon, in Saxony, and, upon the death of Bessiéres, he was appointed one of the commanders of one corps of the imperial guards: and, at Bautzen, he commanded the centre of the army. On the 30th of June, Napoleon received intelligence of the battle of Vittoria, by which his hopes of retaining a hold upon Spain, were finally destroyed, and every soldier in his armies was expelled from that kingdom for ever. The emperor immediately despatched Soult to the scene, conferring upon him the fullest powers, as commander-in-chief and lieutenant-general of the emperor, and instructing him to defend the frontier of the Pyrenees by every means within his reach. He received secret orders, also, to put Joseph aside forcibly

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if it was necessary, but that person voluntarily withdrew. On the 12th of July, Soult arrived at Bayonne, where the French troops had rallied, and immediately assumed the command. The three armies, of "the north," "the centre," and "the south," were combined into one called "the army of Spain," and amounting to eighty thousand men, present, with the eagles, and ready for active operations in the field. Wellington was at this time at Lezaca, within the Spanish territory, and the army at his disposal amounted to about one hundred thousand men, of whom one fourth were Spaniards. Soult applied himself with the most active diligence to the discharge of the responsible duty imposed upon him. Bayonne was put into a state of defence, the army was reorganized and encouraged; and all the great resources that yet remained to uphold the cause of the emperor, were called forth and made efficient. In a fortnight, Soult was ready to take the field. His first movement was to regain the Spanish country, and advance to the relief of Pampeluna: and his earliest operations were as successful in their result as they were brilliant in conception. At daybreak, on the 25th of July, he broke through the Pyrenees at the passes of Roncesvalles and Puerta de Maya; after a protracted and most sanguinary combat, defeated the British force which defended them, and, the same evening reached the valleys on the Spanish side of the mountains, driving the enemy into Pampeluna. Wellington was at the time occupied before St. Sebastian; he immediately raised the siege, and concentrated all his force before Pampeluna, to receive the unexpected invasion which was thus made. On the 28th, Soult was repulsed with considerable loss, after an obstinate

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conflict, at Sauroren, but unwilling to retire as he entered, he moved laterally along the mountains toward St. Sebastian. Pursued and hemmed in with rapid vigor, by Wellington, his army was on the point of being surrounded and destroyed, when, becoming aware of his peril, he suddenly regained the passes at Echallar and Yanzi, and, after a sharp contest, reached in safety the French side of the Pyrenees. In the end of August, Soult advanced to the relief of St. Sebastian, which was now besieged with the utmost energy; he was met, however, at San Marcial, near the Bidassoa, and again repulsed, and, on the 31st, the place was carried by storm.

With the perseverance which constituted his great claim to praise, Soult prepared to contest at every practical rallying point, the entrance of the allies into France, which Wellington was now ready to invade: and the certainty and success with which the English general defeated every arrangement which the French marshal made, and broke down every barrier which he set up, while it exalts the pretensions of the one to the highest pitch of military renown, argues no deficiency of merit on the part of the other. Soult's first dispositions were made for the defence of the line of the Bidassoa: but, on the 7th of October, Wellington passed that river, and drove the French from their positions on the north of it, accomplishing the most splendid achievement of a military life filled with glorious exploits. On the 31st of October, the garrison of Pampeluna, after an obstinate and desperate resistance to a blockade, surrendered at discretion; but the delay afforded Soult time to rally his resources, and establish a new barrier to the invasion of his country. His next

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great stand for the deliverance of France, was on the Nivelle. Availing himself of the natural advantages afforded by the mountains, the rocks, and the river, and strengthening the positions at all weak points, by formidable field-works, he had established three distinct lines of defence, one within the other, similar to those by which Wellington had stopped and turned back Massena, at Torres Vedras. Armed with numerous heavy guns, and defended by seventy thousand combatants, these works afforded a hope of arresting the tide of invasion which now came in with a refluence as alarming, as the flow of conquest which had once set so strongly in an opposite direction. But to a dexterity and judgment so surpassing, as Wellington brought with him, and to a British army so powerful, so practised, and so irresistible in confidence, as that which followed his orders, no enterprise could be deemed impracticable. On the 9th of November, having carefully examined the position, he gave directions for a general attack. After a fierce and prolonged assault, all the lines were at length carried, the Nivelle passed, and the French driven in to the works around Bayonne. The Nive, in front of Bayonne, formed the next support of the obstinate resistance which Soult was interposing to the progress of the allies: but, on the night of the 8th, and morning of the 9th of December, the passage of this river was forced, and the French were forced upon their entrenched camp at Bayonne. The manœuvres of the French marshal, for the next few days, are far the ablest military operations with which his name is connected, and exhibit a union of science, with vigor and energy, which was worthy of the pupil of Napoleon. Concentrating his troops, and holding them well in

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hand, he delivered, with all the force which the circumstances of the case admitted, at Arcangues, Bidart, and Barrouilhet, on the 10th, and at St. Pierre, on the 12th, the most powerful blows that the British army had yet received on the continent. Wellington's loss in these engagements around Bayonne, from the time the crossing of the Nive commenced, was four thousand five hundred, killed and wounded, and five hundred made prisoners; while Soult's loss was six thousand, killed and wounded, besides two thousand five hundred Nassau and Frankfort troops, who, in obedience to orders from their prince, in Germany, passed over to Wellington, on the 10th.

The severity of the weather, and the serious injuries which both parties had sustained, produced a suspension of hostilities for nearly two months: Soult remaining in his entrenchments around Bayonne, and Wellington holding the left bank of the Adour. In the interval, the relative forces of the combatants were materially changed: Soult's army had been diminished by two divisions of infantry, six regiments of dragoons, and two thousand detached veterans, and Wellington's had been increased by a reinforcement of five thousand men, besides a large number who had been moved forward from the banks of the Ebro. Soult's available force in the field, upon the renewal of active operations, did not exceed forty thousand; while Wellington had under him one hundred thousand men, above sixty thousand of whom were British, and one hundred and forty pieces of cannon. On the 14th of February, the allied troops were in motion to force the Adour; and in the course of the following week, the river was completely carried, Bayonne invested by the left wing of the army,

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and the right and centre engaged in driving back Soult, who, leaving the garrison to take care of itself, withdrew successively behind the Bidouze, the Gave de Mauleon, and the Gave d'Oleron, finally took post on the heights of Orthez, behind the Gave de Pau, on the 24th of February.

Soult's position here was upon a semicircular ridge of hills, extending from St. Boes on the right to Orthez on the left, and presenting a concave front toward the allies. The centre consisted of an open rounded hill, from which extended on either hand the ridges which supported the right and left wings. Beyond St. Boes, upon the extreme right, was Dax, and the road from Orthez to Dax passed through the centre of the positions, and behind the ridge upon the right. The French right, consisting of Taupin's, Roguet's, and Paris's divisions, was commanded by General Reille, and extended along the ridge from the centre to the village of St. Boes, with the road to Dax running behind it. In the centre, which, however, was in closer communication with the right wing than with the left, Count D'Erlon commanded Foy's and D'Armagnac's divisions, with Villatte's division and the cavalry thrown back so as to act as a reserve either to himself or to Reille. On the left, Clauzel, with Harispe's division, occupied Orthez. Twelve guns were attached to Harispe's division; twelve were upon the round hill in the centre, sweeping in their range the ground beyond St. Boes; and sixteen were in reserve on the Dax road. The ground in front of the centre was a broken, marshy ravine. It is difficult to conceive of a position chosen with more judgment, or occupied and defended with greater skill. To attack in front was impracticable,

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from the nature of the ground; and the only feasible operation was to attack the French flanks along the ridges, so as to get beyond their position and hem them in around Orthez. Beresford, forming the left, was ordered to advance with the fourth and seventh divisions and Vivian's cavalry, assail the ridge on their right flank, and gain the Dax road beyond. Picton, with the third and sixth divisions, was directed to assail D'Erlon's left along the ridge upon that side. And Hill, on the right, beyond the Gave, with the second division and Le Cor's Portuguese, menaced Orthez. Between Picton and Beresford there was an interval of a mile and a half where there were no troops; but in the middle of the interval, and directly in front of the French centre, was an isolated hill rising nearly as high as the loftiest part of Soult's position, and crested by an old Roman camp. On this point, Wellington, after examining the country on the left, placed himself, and commanded a view of the whole scene, which he observed with the practised eye of a scientific soldier, watchful to take advantage of the first fault that his antagonist should make. He drew behind the camp Colborne's fifty-second light division, thus connecting his wings and forming a reserve in the centre. During the whole morning, some skirmishing, with an occasional cannon-shot, had been going on; but at nine o'clock, Wellington began his attack. Picton, with the third and sixth, won the lower part of the ridge upon the French left, and assailed the French front upon their left with a sharp fire of musketry. On the English left, Vasconcellas's Portuguese brigade, and Ross's British brigade of the fourth (Anson's brigade of the fourth, together with the seventh division and Vivian's cavalry

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being held in reserve), assailed and carried the village of St. Boes; but as fast as they got upon the open ground in front, the French guns from the hill in the centre took them in front, and advancing a little further, the battery on the Dax road swept them with grape from flank to flank. Five times did the allies clear the village, and endeavor to establish a line beyond it; five times were they checked by the galling fire, and driven back behind the houses by the masses of Taupin's division, who stood ready to charge them the first moment that they wavered. After this slaughterous contest had continued for three hours, Wellington sent a regiment of the light division from the Roman camp to protect Ross's right flank: but it was without effect; for the Portuguese brigade, unable any longer to sustain the deadly conflict, gave way in disorder, and the British troops with difficulty regained the village. At the same moment, upon the other side of the field, a small detachment, which Picton had advanced by his left up the hill in the centre, was suddenly charged by Foy as it came near the summit, and driven down in disorder, with the loss of some prisoners. Soult, conspicuous from his elevated open hill, seeing his enemies thus broken and repulsed on both sides, is said to have smote his thigh and exclaimed, "At last I have him." Thinking that the victory had inclined in his favor, he forthwith put all his reserves in motion to reap the fullest success.

But the keen, calm eye of Wellington — as quick in its perception, as it was scientific in its combinations — detected in this temporary triumph of the foe the means of his certain overthrow. The operations against the English left had developed a lateral movement, on the

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part of the French right and reserves, from the centre outward toward St. Boes, and the English general saw an opportunity to deliver a blow like those which had wrought such splendid results at Austerlitz and Salamanca. He instantly ordered the fifty-second light division, which was in the rear of his own station at the Roman camp, to dash across the marshy ground in front, and assail upon the left flank the French columns which were advancing to crush the fourth division at St. Boes: he strengthened that division, also, by the seventh division and Vivian's cavalry, which had not yet been engaged; and at the same time, ordered Picton to throw his third and sixth divisions in mass upon Foy's left flank in the French centre. Colborne, with the fifty-second, rushed forward over the ground which had seemed impracticable, and though the men sank at every step above the knees, and were assailed by a skirmishing fire, they pressed forward with irrepressible fury, gained the hill, and ascended it just in time to intercept Taupin's division in the execution of its lateral movement. With a rolling fire, and that tremendous shout which makes the confident attack of a British regiment scarcely less than appalling, they threw themselves between the French centre and left, overwhelmed a French battalion in their course, and threw the troops in front of them into the utmost disorder. At the same moment, Foy's division, assailed upon the other side by the third and sixth divisions, was broken and the general killed. This sudden change in Wellington's line of attack, operated as a complete surprise upon the French, and, like a cold blast of wind precipitated from a mountain gorge athwart a summer sea, transformed in an instant the whole aspect of the scene. The right

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and centre of Soult's army were drawn back to restore the line of battle, and the English, pressing into the opening, were masters of the field. Picton, establishing a battery on the position which D'Armagnac had occupied, ploughed the opposing masses from flank to flank: then the third and seventh advancing convergently, the wings of the army were united, and the victory was complete. Soult, astonished to find the triumph wrung from his very hand, ordered a general retreat: the English pursued as far as the Luy of Béarn, but Wellington being wounded by a musket-ball in the thigh, the advantages of the day were not pressed with the thoroughness which was usual in the British army. Soult withdrew behind the Luy of Béarn, having lost about four thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners, and about as large a number of conscripts who threw away their arms. The English loss was about twenty-three hundred. The battle of Orthez is a fine illustration of the military genius of Wellington; and when the advantages of Soult's position are considered, it must be regarded as one of the most brilliant victories of the time. Soult, abandoning Bayonne and Bordeaux, retired up the Adour to Tarbes, and thence to Toulouse, where he designed to make his next great stand for the empire of Napoleon and the independence of France.

The advantages of Toulouse for defence were very great, and Soult, displaying all the wonderful energy and activity of his character, had, in the period which elapsed before Wellington appeared under its walls, strengthened and multiplied its means of resistance to such a degree, that a mind less daring and determined than the English commander's, would have paused at least, and hesitated, before he assailed such a position.

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But Wellington wavered not for a moment, and only considered as to the *mode* of his attack. The Garonne, from its source to some distance beyond Toulouse, flows in a northerly direction, forming a great semicircle with its convex side toward the east. At the most eastern point of the curve stands the city of Toulouse, principally on the right bank of the river, but with the suburb of St. Cyprien on the left bank; and it was in this latter direction that the allies were approaching. The suburb of St. Cyprien was protected on the west by an old brick wall three feet thick, flanked by two massive towers, and by exterior entrenchments which had been added by Soult. The city, on the other side of the river, was guarded on the north and east by a triple line of defence, consisting of, first, the old wall of the city, flanked by towers, and of great thickness; second, the canal of Languedoc, joining with the Garonne a few miles to the north of the city (below it), and running to the north and east, the canal as a military position being connected with the entrenched suburbs; and third, the long and rugged ridge called Mont Rave, eight hundred yards beyond the canal. This ridge extended from north to south between two and three miles, the hill of Pugade being its extreme northerly elevation, the long platform of Calvinet constituting its crest, and the hill of St. Sypierre its southern termination. To the east of this ridge flowed the deep and muddy river Ers, and between them the ground was marshy and wet.

The south was, in regard to regular lines of defence, the least protected; but the difficulty of approach on that side, from the nature of the soil, rendered it evident to Soult that the attack must be on the north, and to that quarter his attention was directed. Wellington,

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on the 28th of March, made an effectual effort to cross to the south, above the city; and then determined to pass the river a few miles below, and approach the city from the north. Accordingly, leaving Hill with the right division to operate against the suburb of St. Cyprien, he succeeded in passing at Grenade, about fifteen miles below the city, on the 8th of April, with the left and centre. The 9th was occupied in bringing up the troops, and the attack was fixed for the 10th. Soult's position of battle along the east was upon Mont Rave, supported by the canal and the walled city, so far as that ridge extended; and upon the north, it was the canal and suburbs. The Calvinet platform was strongly fortified by several open entrenchments and small works, and two large redoubts; and the St. Sypierre hill was also occupied by two redoubts. His army was drawn up as follows: On the left of the river, General Reille defended the suburb of St. Cyprien, with Taupin's and Maransin's divisions: on the other side of the Garonne, the French centre, consisting of Daricau's division, occupied the line of the canal upon the north, between the river and the road which crossed the bridge of Croix d'Orade—the left of that division defending the bridge-head of Jumeaux, the centre occupying the convent of Minimes, and the right defending the Matabiau bridge: the French right, consisting of Harispe's division, was established along Mont Rave, its left and centre defending the works on Calvinet, and its extreme right occupying the redoubts upon St. Sypierre. The hill of Pugade, a detached eminence, was held by St. Pol's brigade of Villate's division. Two divisions were held in reserve behind Mont Rave. Soult's line on the right of the river, therefore, presented a right angle,

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of which the apex was toward the hill of Pugade, and the sides of which, running toward the west and south, were each about two miles in length.

The Ers was not fordable, and the only bridge over it which had not been destroyed was that of the Croix d'Orade. Wellington's approach to the works was, therefore, of necessity, from the north; but he determined to make his principal and effective attack upon the east and southeast, that is, upon the French extreme right. Picton was, therefore, to threaten the line upon the north, next the river; Beresford, meanwhile, was to pass with the English left division round between Mont Rave and the Ers, and attack the ridge from the east, while the Spanish and Portuguese were to assail the centre from the hill of Pugade.

At six o'clock in the morning of the 10th of April, the allied army moved forward in the way assigned to it in the general order. Picton and Alten, on the English right, drove in the French posts behind the canal and the works along it. The Spanish and Portuguese advanced along the Albi road, drove St. Pol into the Calvinet works, and occupied the Pugade, from which a heavy cannonade was immediately opened upon Mont Rave. On the left, Beresford, preceded by the hussars, advanced from Croix d'Orade, in three columns abreast, and passing behind the Pugade, and through the village of Mont Blanc, where he halted his artillery for the present, he entered the marshy ground between the Ers river and Mont Rave. The orders to Freyre had been to delay his attack from the Pugade until Beresford had reached his position, and was "moving up to attack the right of the enemy's position." That officer, however, in opposition to this direction, moved

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his troops forward to the attack of Calvinet, about eleven o'clock, while Beresford was still in march. Advancing, about nine thousand strong, and ascending the heights of Mont Rave at their northeastern angle, they were received by a murderous fire from the works upon the summit, and, at the same time, their right flank was ploughed by incessant discharges from the bridge of Matabiau. For some time they sustained themselves with the utmost gallantry, and advanced repeatedly upon their desperate undertaking, but the heads of the columns unable to endure the terrible fire, threw themselves into a hollow of considerable depth, by which they hoped to be sheltered; but the French, rushing out of the works, opened a deadly fire upon the defenceless mass, with such impression, that after fifteen hundred had been killed or wounded, the residue of the corps fled in dismay. So complete was their route, that Wellington observed that he had seen many curious sights in his day, but that he had never before seen ten thousand men running a race. The French success in this quarter, was finally checked by Wellington himself, who moved up Ponsonby's cavalry, and the reserve artillery. This breach of orders on General Freyre's part, induced a similar one, by Picton. Perceiving the ruinous fire which from the works in front of him, the French were opening upon Freyre, he conceived that the circumstances of the moment required him to convert the false attack which had been ordered, into a real one. He advanced, therefore, to carry the bridge of Jumeaux, and the works with which it was connected; but those works being quite unassailable, from their height, he was repulsed with the loss of four hundred men and several officers.

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The right and centre being thus overthrown, the issue of the battle depended upon Beresford; and, in that stout-hearted and courageous soldier, Wellington had a resource upon which he might rely with almost unlimited confidence. Meanwhile, on the other side of the river, Hill had carried the first line of entrenchments, but was unable to make any impression upon the interior line. Soult, therefore, perceiving that Hill and Picton were no longer formidable, and that the principal attack was to be upon his extreme right, moved Taupin's whole division, and one brigade of Maransin's from the suburb of St. Cyprien, to his right wing upon St. Sypierre. Slowly and painfully, yet steadily, Beresford was making his way through the marsh along the bank of the Ers, suffering from a galling fire upon his flank from Mont Rave. The lateral march which he was executing in the face of the enemy, would properly be called a false movement, if there had been any other practicable mode of attack, and, if Wellington's experience of Soult's want of inspiration and energy in the field, had not fairly justified it. Not merely Napoleon, but Lannes, or Ney, or Massena, would infallibly have given Wellington another illustration of the truth of the principle which he illustrated at Salamanca; but the inertness of the present commander of the French army showed that success in war depends, not upon favorable opportunities only, but upon the skill to turn them to account. At length, the divisions under Beresford, arrived at the Caraman road, and immediately deployed into line, Cole's division being on the left of Clinton's, and advanced to the attack of the redoubts on St. Sypierre. Rushing up the ridge at charging pace, with a tremendous shout, the fore-

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most English brigades overthrew and disordered Taupin's division, killing its general, and carried the redoubts. The whole position of St. Sypierre was now in Beresford's occupation, but Soult reformed his columns about Calvinet, facing to the right, and prepared to contest the residue of the ridge. An interval of some hours, however, intervened, while Beresford's artillery was coming up from Mont Blanc: about three in the afternoon, the battle was renewed by Beresford advancing along the crest of Mont Rave, and attacking Soult's positions on the ridge. After a fierce and sanguinary struggle, the issue of which was for sometime doubtful the redoubts on Calvinet were stormed, Generals Harispe and Baurot being badly wounded. At five o'clock Soult abandoned the position on Mont Rave, and withdrew his whole army behind the canal. The abandoned works were then occupied by the allies, and the ridge throughout its whole extent, remained with the assailants. In this great battle, the French had five generals and more than two thousand men killed or wounded; and the allies lost four generals and four thousand six hundred killed or wounded.

During the night, Soult, neither wearied nor disheartened by the toils and losses of the day, reorganized his forces, renewed his supplies of ammunition from the arsenal at Toulouse, and took his positions for another battle behind the line of the canal. But his antagonist was not as ready to renew the contest. His loss had been great, both in men and in ammunition; supplies of the latter could be obtained only from his stores on the other side of the river; and Soult's position was still strong. The renewal of the attack was, therefore, deferred until the morning; but, on the night

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of the 11th, Soult abandoned the city. During the day, the English light-cavalry had been sent up the canal to threaten the retreat toward the southeast, and Soult alarmed at the probability of being shut up in the city, filed out, after dark, with great order, cutting the bridges behind him, and reaching Villefranche on the following day, after a forced march of twenty-two miles. He left behind him, eight heavy guns, and one thousand six hundred badly wounded men. Wellington made a triumphal entry into Toulouse, on the 12th, at noon. On the same day, Colonel St. Simon arrived from Paris, with official intelligence of Napoleon's abdication, and, on the 13th, reached the headquarters of Soult, who, however, refused to recognise the provisional government, but proposed a suspension of hostilities until he could receive intelligence directly from the emperor or his ministers. Wellington again marched against him to Castel-Naudari, and, on the 17th, the armies were about engaging again, when Soult, who had received authentic information from the chief of the imperial staff, notified his recognition of the new government, and the next day a convention was concluded.

The battle of Toulouse has been the fruitful source of literary controversies scarcely less earnest and excited than the struggle upon Mont Rave. Two French works have been published — one entitled "Considérations Militaires sur les Mémoires du Maréchal Suchet, et sur la Bataille de Toulouse, &c., par T. Choumara," and the other, "Sur la Bataille de Toulouse; Examen de l'Ouvrage de M. Choumara, avec l'addition de Nouveaux Détails Importans; par le Général Juchereau de St. Denys" — in both of which the merit of a victory at Toulouse is claimed for Marshal Soult, and the claim is

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supported by a variety of arguments. Several replies have proceeded from English writers; and the advantage in the controversy appears to rest very decidedly with the latter. The French observe that, if the French right and centre were driven in by Beresford, the English right and centre under Picton and Freyre were certainly defeated by the French. But the general order of Lord Wellington for the day proves that the repulse of those premature assaults was not the failure of any part of his plan of attack. Again, the French allege that the canal and suburbs constituted Soult's real position of battle, and that Mont Rave was an outwork, the loss of which amounted to little in view of the preservation of the rest of the line on both sides of the river; and that Soult on the following day offered battle, which his antagonist was not in a condition to accept, and did not retreat until the ensuing night. In answer to this, it may confidently be asserted that, in a military point of view, Soult's position was Mont Rave, and the canal and city were merely its supports. The loss of the ridge put the enemy in possession of the approaches toward the southeast; and the moment Wellington's cavalry appeared in that quarter, Soult made instant preparations to evacuate. The French marshal himself, in a despatch to Suchet, dated the 7th of April, takes this view of his situation: "I am resolved," he writes, "to deliver the battle near Toulouse, whatever may be the superiority of the enemy. In this view, I have fortified a position, which, supported by the town and canal, furnishes me with an entrenched camp susceptible of defence." The merits of the whole dispute are summed up by Lord Burghersh, in his work on "The Operations of the Allied

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Armies in 1813–'14," in a form which seems to be just and conclusive. "Did Marshal Soult," he asks, "fight this battle to retain the possession of the heights which he had fortified, and which commanded the town? If so, *he lost them.* Did he fight to keep possession of Toulouse? If so, *he lost that.*" But in regard to the mere issue of the battle, which is what the French writers chiefly discuss, no one, with the duke of Wellington's general order before him, can doubt who won the battle of Toulouse.

The relative forces on both sides in this celebrated engagement have also been the subject of animated controversy. According to the best evidence, it would appear that the French marshal had, disposable in the action, about thirty-eight thousand men, and eighty pieces of artillery; and that the English commander had about fifty-two thousand of all arms in line, and sixty-four pieces of artillery: but these troops were of various nations — British, Germans, Portuguese, and Spanish.

Marshal Soult did not escape the imputation of having fought the battle of Toulouse with a full knowledge of Napoleon's abdication, and of the political settlement of the controversy which he was engaged in vindicating by arms. His own exculpatory statement on the subject, if it does not relieve him from the charge of having entered into the engagement rather for the honor of his country and his army than for any effect which it might have upon the general controversy from which the war arose, yet justifies his course as a patriot, a man of spirit, and a faithful, unflinching servant of a master whose interests he was determined should have, not the disadvantage, but the benefit, of all that was doubtful in

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the occurrences and rumors of the day. It certainly exculpates Soult from an accusation which, in succeeding years, was made to press heavily upon his character. Shortly after the passing of the Reform act, Lord Aberdeen, in the house of lords, charged this crime upon Soult; but the duke of Wellington immediately rose and declared in positive terms that when Soult fought the battle, he did not know, and could not have known, of the emperor's abdication.

In the political embarrassments which followed, of a disputed throne and a doubtful allegiance, the firmness and integrity of Soult became more than questionable; and his conduct might well draw down upon him the reputation of being an unscrupulous military adventurer, earnestly adopting the party and principles which happened to be in the ascendant, and determined to maintain his own supremacy and distinction under every dynasty and in all circumstances. Having given his adhesion to the Bourbon princes on the 19th of April, he was soon after appointed governor of the thirteenth military division by Louis XVIII.; and on the 24th of September, was created a commander of the royal and military order of St. Louis. Anxious to remove the cloud that might rest upon his prospects as a child and disciple of the Revolution, and a friend and follower of Napoleon, Soult at once took up the sentiments of the legitimists with the utmost enthusiasm, and signalized his devotion to the cause of the Bourbons with a zeal which, if it produced disgust in honorable minds, and ultimately raised suspicions fatal to his standing, succeeded at the moment in procuring him substantial marks of royal patronage. On the 3d of December, 1814, he was appointed minister of war, succeeding

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General Dupont in that office; and his professed opinions and policy became identified with the extreme portion of the anti-liberal party.

When Napoleon landed at Cannes, on the 1st of March, on his return from Elba, Soult manifested the most determined hostility to the imperial adventurer, and, on the 9th of March, published, in his capacity of minister of war, the following proclamation, which certainly affords an amusing contrast to that which he issued three months later as major-general of Napoleon; but which, as coming from the pen of the soldier who, for fifteen years, had shared the confidence and profited of the bounty of an indulgent master, is a disgraceful exhibition of baseness and falsehood:—

"Soldiers! that man, who so recently abdicated, in the face of Europe, a usurped power, of which he made so fatal a use, Bonaparte, has descended upon the French soil, which he ought never to have seen again. What does he desire? Civil war. Whom does he seek? Traitors. Where will he find them? Will it be among the soldiers whom he has deceived and sacrificed a thousand times, in misleading their valor? Will it be in the bosom of their families, through which his very name sends a shudder? Bonaparte despises us enough, to think that we are capable of abandoning a legitimate and beloved monarch, to share the lot of a man who is now a mere adventurer. He believes it, madman that he is! His last act of insanity reveals him entirely. Soldiers, the French army is the bravest in Europe; it will also be the most faithful. Let us rally around the stainless lilied banner, at the voice of the father of his people, the worthy inheritor of the virtues of the great Henry. He has himself traced out to

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you the path which you ought to follow: he has put at your head that prince, the model of French chevaliers, whose happy return to his country has chased the usurper from it, and who now sets out to destroy his single and last hope.

"LE MARECHAL DUC DE DALMATIE."

This miserable prostitution of honor and truth failed of its object. Such sycophancy in the mouth of Marshal Soult could only raise suspicions of an intention to betray the cause which he affected to sustain by adulations so outrageous. Other earlier circumstances in his conduct encouraged the opinion, that his excessive adoption of the loyal principles and measures had proceeded from a wish to disgust the nation and the army with the Bourbons. An unfortunate state of things brought these suspicions to an open crisis. By Soult's advice, a corps of thirty thousand men had been stationed between Lyons and Besançon, to observe the movements of Murat, and in these troops the most decided and general manifestations of disaffection displayed themselves from the beginning. Their having been stationed there, was at once ascribed to the ingenuity and foresight of the perfidious minister of war: he was publicly denounced in the chamber of deputies, as a conspirator with Napoleon; and on the 11th of March, he was obliged to resign his office. He was soon in the full favor and service of the emperor.

From the imputation of treachery to the Bourbons, however, Soult is entirely exculpated by the unimpeachable testimony of Napoleon himself: "Soult," said the emperor to O'Meara, at St. Helena, "did not betray Louis, as has been supposed, nor was he privy to my return and landing in France. For some days Soult

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thought I was *mad*, and that I must certainly be lost. Notwithstanding this, appearances were so much against Soult, and without intending it, his acts turned out to be so favorable to my prospects, that, were I on his jury, and ignorant of what I know, I should condemn him for having betrayed Louis. But he really was not privy to it, though Ney, in his defence, said that I told him so."

The duke of Dalmatia, was created a peer of France, by Napoleon: and was appointed major-general of the army which was assembling for the campaign of Waterloo; and, on the 2d of June, on taking command, he issued an order of the day, in which the following passages occur: "The most august ceremony has just consecrated our institutions. The emperor has received from the delegates of the people, and the deputations of all the corps of the army, the expressions of the voice of the whole nation on the additional act to the constitutions of the empire. A new oath unites France to the emperor. Thus are the destinies of the nation accomplished, and all the efforts of an impious league can no longer separate the interests of a great people from that of the hero, who, by his brilliant victories has been the admiration of the universe.

"It is at the moment when France is at peace with all Europe, that foreign armies advance upon our frontier. What are the intentions of this new coalition? Do they mean to erase France from the list of nations? Do they intend to plunge into slavery twenty-eight millions of Frenchmen. Have they forgotten that the first league formed against our independence, served only to our aggrandisement and glory? A hundred illustrious victories, which unfortunate accidents and

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momentary reverses cannot efface, ought to remind them that a free nation, led by a brave man, is invincible. * * * A common interest now unites Frenchmen. The obligations violence forced us into, are annulled by the flight of the Bourbons from France, by the appeal they have made to foreign armies for assistance to reascend the throne they have abandoned, and by the unanimous voice of the nation, who, in resuming the free exercise of their rights, have solemnly disavowed all that has been done without their participation."

The conduct which Soult pursued, in sustaining and serving, first, the government of the Bourbons, and then the government of Napoleon, as being, successively, the government, *de facto*, of the country, and the actual representative of the nation, might well be justified as consistent, judicious, and patriotic; but thus to identify himself with the violent personal passions of the antagonist dynasties, and to become the mouthpiece of extravagant sentiments, directly and utterly contradictory and repugnant, argues a shamelessness of character, and an insensibility to moral disgrace, which the brilliance of Austerlitz and Andalusia, and the Pyrenees, only renders more conspicuous and offensive.

After issuing the foregoing order, Soult immediately left Paris for the army assembled in Flanders, and directed the operations of the troops until Napoleon opened the campaign in person. He rendered conspicuous service to his imperial benefactor, at Ligny and Waterloo, and returned to Paris after the fatal issue of the campaign. When Carnot urged the propriety of attempting the defence of the capital, Soult expressed the most decided opinion that the city was incapable of defence, and that the attempt to hold it would be

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vain; and, the subject being referred to a commission of all the eminent officers in Paris, his view was unanimously sustained. After the capitulation, he followed the army beyond the Loire, and then retired to the chateau of Malzieu, in the department of La Lozère, where he lived in seclusion under the protection of his former aide-de-camp, M. Brun de Villeret. He was here arrested by the national guard, and taken to Mende, where he was detained a prisoner, until set at liberty by an order of the king. Being included in the ordinance of the 24th of July, he retired to Dusseldorf with his family, in the month of February, 1816. Before his departure, he published a memoir to exculpate himself from the charge of treason at the period of the return of Napoleon. On the 28th of May, 1819, the king authorized his return to France, and, on the 6th of January, 1821, his marshal's baton was restored to him.

Soult's conduct, upon his return, exhibited neither dignity, sincerity, nor principle. His first endeavor was to conciliate the party which had accused him of treachery, and to which he owed his banishment and sufferings; and to accomplish this, he spared no sacrifices of consistency or pride. He became an advocate of extreme opinions in opposition to public liberty; and is reported to have sought the confidence of the men whose voices he needed, by exhibiting an affecting piety in the performance of all public duties of religion, and an exemplary devotion in taking part in ecclesiastical processions. Remarks, in the spirit and tone of Polignac, have been ascribed to him, which, if genuine, denote a total abandonment of mental sincerity and rectitude. His sycophancy to the wretched ministry

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of Villèle, was at length rewarded by his promotion to the peerage of France, to which he was elevated with seventy-five others, by an ordinance of the 5th of November, 1827. This act, being subsequently declared void, he was again made a peer, by Louis Philippe, in 1830. On the 17th of November, of that year, he was appointed minister of war, which office he continued to hold under different ministries, until July, 1834. In the ministry formed on the 11th of October, 1832, he was made president of the council, as well as minister of war, which office he held until the 18th of July, 1834, when the state of his health obliged him to retire for a time to private life.

Soult, though largely beholden to Louis Philippe, has not escaped suspicions of treachery to this new benefactor. In General Dermoncourt's work, entitled "La Vendée et Madame," it is stated that among the correspondence found, when the duchess of Berri was arrested at Nantes, were letters strongly implicating the minister of war. In a letter to the duchess, Soult had said that he would be entirely at her command ('*tout à elle*'), upon condition that she would re-establish in his favor the ancient office of constable of France. Her reply was as follows: "Monsieur le Marèchal: The sword of constable of France is to be won only in the field of battle; I await your presence there." "The reader," says the author of 'La Vendée et Madame,' "may depend upon the accuracy of these details:" but the anecdote is rather too epigrammatic to be quite reliable.

At the coronation of Queen Victoria, in 1838, Soult was sent to represent the French court, and was received with great respect and attention, and experienced

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the liveliest demonstrations of popular enthusiasm. On the 12th of May, 1839, Soult was appointed minister of foreign affairs, and president of the council, which offices he retained until the 1st of March, 1840. On the formation of the ministry of the 29th of October, 1840, he was again made minister of war and president of the council. His love of official notoriety induced him to cling to the presidency long after he ceased to be able to take any official part in the conduct of affairs. At length, in September, 1847, he resigned, and was succeeded by Guizot. His letter of resignation to the king, though servile and fawning in its tone, is not without interest:

"SOULT-BERG (Tarn), *Sept.* 15, 1847.

"SIRE: I was in the service of my country sixty years ago, while the ancient monarchy yet existed, and before the earliest dawn of our national revolution. As soldier of the republic, and as lieutenant of the emperor Napoleon, I took part, without ceasing, in that vast struggle for the freedom, independence, and glory of France; and I was among those who supported it even to the last day. Your majesty has condescended to think that my services might be useful in the new and not less patriotic struggle which God and France have called upon you to make for the establishment of constitutional order: and I am grateful to your majesty for it. It is the honor of my life that my name thus occupies a place in all the transactions, military and political, which have resulted in the success of our great cause. The confidence of your majesty sustained me in the last services which I endeavored to render: my devotion to your majesty, and to France, remains un-

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impaired, but I feel that my strength no longer does. Since I have now reached the close of my toilsome career, may your majesty suffer me to devote my remaining strength to reflection. I have dedicated to you, sire, the activity of my later years: grant me now the rest due to my ancient services, and suffer me to lay at the foot of your majesty's throne, the resignation of the presidency of the council, with which you were pleased to invest me. I shall enjoy this repose, in the midst of that security which your majesty's wisdom has procured for France, and for all who have served and loved her. In my retirement, gratitude for your majesty's goodness, and wishes for the prosperity of yourself and your august family, will attend me to my last day. They will always be equal to the unchanging devotion, and profound respect with which I have the honor to be, sire, your majesty's most humble and most obedient servant.

"MARSHAL DUKE OF DALMATIA."

On the 26th of September, Soult was appointed MARSHAL-GENERAL OF FRANCE; an extraordinary office which has been twice before created in France, once in favor of the great Turenne, in 1667, and, the second time, in favor of Villars, in 1733.

On the 26th of April, 1796, Soult was married to Louisa Elizabeth Wilhelmina Berg. "It will scarcely be credited," said Napoleon to Las Cases, at St. Helena, "that this man whose deportment and manners denoted a lofty character, was the slave of his wife. When I learned at Dresden, our defeat at Vittoria, and the loss of all Spain through the mismanagement of poor Joseph, whose plans and measures were not suited

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to the present age, and seemed rather to belong to a Soubise than to me, I looked about for some one capable of repairing these disasters, and I cast my eyes on Soult who was near me. He said he was ready to undertake what I wished; but entreated that I would speak to his wife, by whom, he said, he expected to be reproached. I desired him to send her to me. She assumed an air of hostility, and in a decided manner told me that her husband should certainly not go to Spain; that he had already performed important services, and was now entitled to a little repose. 'Madam,' said I to her. 'I did not send for you with a view of enduring your scolding. I am not your husband; and if I were, I should not be the more inclined to bear with you.' These few words quite confounded her; she became as pliant as a glove, grew quite obsequious, and was only eager to obtain a few conditions. To these, however, I by no means acceded, and merely contented myself with congratulating her on her willingness to listen to reason."

That Marshal Soult possessed many great, and valuable, and extraordinary abilities, no one will deny; but that, upon the whole, he is entitled to the name of a great general, can not at all be admitted. Acute in his observations, and profound in his reasonings, he yet wanted some qualities, which if not the least common, are yet of indispensable importance to a commander, a daring quickness of decision, and the capacity to handle troops efficiently upon a field of battle. He had all the mental parts of the character to which he aspired; but the passionate and enthusiastic elements of that great profession, and, especially, those nameless qualities which connect thought with action, and minister to

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boldness and fire of resolution, were shared by him in slight and feeble measure. There was, indeed, an excess of intellectual operation in his schemes; his determination was too often "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." Exquisitely nice and accurate in his apprehension of every consideration that belonged to the case before him; grand in his conceptions and plans; sound in his judgment; a finer speculative tactician or strategist never lived. Wellington, or Napoleon himself, could not have given him lessons in the theory of great military operations. But, that fierce delivery of his purpose; that instant and impetuous vehemence of temper; that unhesitating fury of a resistless will, which is required in the shock of battle, Soult's nature did not permit. He thought ably, but slowly. His reason could act only in calmness and deliberation: he never caught inspiration from the excitements of a critical moment: that passionate illumination of the judgment, which, in a great emergency, sees, combines, decides, and acts upon the instant, by an intuitive sagacity, and an unconscious will, he never exhibited. Wonderfully able in his preparations and dispositions, in the crisis of the collision he always seems to fail. The blow which an elaborate mechanism had arranged, is dealt, at last, doubtfully or imperfectly. He had the science of Napoleon, but not his inspiration: he had the contrivance of Wellington, but not his execution. The emperor appears to have understood his character, with perfect comprehension. "I asked his opinion about Soult," says O'Meara, "and mentioned that I had heard some persons place him in the rank next to himself as a general. He replied 'he is an excellent minister at war, or major-general of an

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army: one who knows much better the arrangement of an army than to command in chief.'" At another time, speaking to Las Cases of General Sarrazin's work on the peninsular campaigns, which gives great praise to Soult, Napoleon said, "The notice taken of Soult is not precisely the best part of the book; he is much better as an excellent director, or a good war minister."

It was slowness of resolution and want of confidence in his own power, only, which kept Soult from the first rank of generals; for his vigor, strength, and constancy, were of the highest order. Undaunted by difficulties — neither dismayed nor disheartened by defeat — he persevered in all his enterprises with an indomitable tenacity. The forces of his character flowed with a galvanic steadiness of current, but never flashed into electric energy of will. The motive-power of his career seemed to be supplied from within himself, and not from outward accidents; if the hope of catching a great success could not urge him into a risk, the prospect of danger never disturbed or paralyzed his firmness. He appeared to much greater advantage in a defence, than in an attack; and his genius was better suited to protect a retreat, than to lead a pursuit. He was too cautious in his temper — too formal in his system — too much devoted to rules — to catch the highest successes of a profession, in which to dare discreetly, and violate prudence opportunely, is one of the conditions of high distinction. The duke of Wellington came at last to count upon his modes of operation with perfect precision. On one occasion, while pursuing Soult among the Pyrenees, Wellington, with a single staff-officer, found himself in the immediate neighbor-

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hood of the French army. He instantly despatched an order for other troops to move up, and then rode forward to join an advanced-guard, which was higher up the mountain. The soldiers raised a cry of joy at his approach, which echoed among the hills with a prolonged roar. Wellington stopped in a conspicuous place, whence he could be seen by both armies, and a double spy, who was present, pointed out Soult, who was so near that his features could be plainly distinguished. The English general fixed his eyes upon his opponent, and speaking as if to himself, said, "Yonder is a great commander, but he is a cautious one, and will delay his attack to understand the cause of these cheers; that will give time for the sixth division to arrive, and I shall beat him." And so it proved, for Soult made no serious attack that day.

The presence and control of the emperor were as necessary to Soult as they were to the other marshals, though not for the same reasons. Ney, Murat, Marmont, Augereau, Macdonald, required his superintendence to guide and inform them: Soult, to stimulate and urge him. This marshal nowhere appears so great as in the campaign of Austerlitz. He seemed to catch the glow of enthusiasm from communion with his master, and sometimes to retain it for a season after he had parted from him: thus his rapidity and boldness after leaving the emperor at Vittoria to proceed to Burgos in 1808, and upon first taking the command at Bayonne in 1813, display a marked superiority to other parts of his career in Spain. His pursuit of Sir John Moore must be considered as adding but little to his reputation; and the tardiness of his preparations to attack at Lugo and Corunna illustrate the characteristic

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fault of his temper. The advance to Oporto exhibits energy, and the retreat was able and judicious; but the surprise at that city, and the passage of the Douro by Wellington under his very eyes, is a stain upon his military character, which no amount of merit subsequently displayed ought to be deemed adequate to efface. His campaigns in Andalusia display with great lustre his administrative talents, and his powers of organizing, controlling, and managing, a great system of operations; yet, in regard to his progress in the field, are certainly not particularly brilliant or effective. In the pursuit of the allies from Burgos back to Portugal, in 1813, his allowing Wellington to escape at the Tormes without an attack, in opposition to the advice of Jourdan, must be regarded as a great fault. The best display of his abilities, in an independent command, is undoubtedly in the campaign of 1814: upon that his fame rests, and without it he could not be ranked very highly. Napoleon himself said, that "the whole of his campaign in the south of France was admirably conducted." Yet his constitutional want of sudden energy still pursued him; and he lost many opportunities of improvising effective blows.

The civil and political career of this celebrated man offers little that can attract or command respect. Insatiable of glory, careless of honor, sacrificing dignity to distinction, the complexion of his moral character shows the tinge and soilure of a revolutionary origin. Unlike Napoleon and Wellington, he displayed in a ministerial station neither interest nor ability in politics, and seemed to value office as a gratification, not of ambition, but of vanity. Rapacious and sordid in his temper, he has regarded rank with a covetous rather than

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an aspiring temper, as an object of private possession, rather than a source of public eminence. He has prostituted his pride and sincerity to its acquisition, and has gained the notoriety of station, but not its lustre.

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LOUIS NICHOLAS DAVOUST,

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, MAY 19, 1804:

DUKE OF AUERSTADT: PRINCE OF ECKMUHL.

Louis Nicholas Davoust, son of John Francis Davoust, the Lord of Annoux, was born at Annoux, near Noyers, in Burgundy, of a noble family, on the 10th of May, 1770. In 1785, he entered the military school of Brienne, and, in 1789, became a sublieutenant in the regiment of the royal Champagne cavalry. He was created a major of the third battalion of the Yonne in 1791, and served, the following year, in the army of the North, under Dumourier, where he was distinguished at the battles of Jemappes and of Nerwinde. In 1793, he was made chief of brigade, and adjutant-general of brigade; but the decree against the noble families deprived him of command. The fall of Robespierre's party, on the 27th of July, 1794, restored him to his profession; and he served, in 1795, under Pichegru, on the Rhine, and continued with the army of the Rhine during 1796 and 1797. He accompanied Napoleon to Egypt, and served there, with merit, during 1798 and 1799. In the following year he was made a general of division, and commanded the cavalry in the army of Italy. In 1801, he was appointed inspector-general of the cavalry, and commander of the infantry of the consular guard; and, in 1803, was com

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mander-in-chief of the camp at Bruges. In 1804, he was created marshal of the empire, and a grand officer of the legion of honor. From this time till the end of the Russian campaign, he will be seen taking a very prominent and principal part in all the great actions of the army. In the campaign of 1805, he was at the head of the third corps of the grand army; and at the battle of Austerlitz, where he commanded the right wing, his obstinate valor contributed largely to the victory. In the campaigns of Prussia, in 1806, and of Poland, in 1807, he won immortal glory at Auerstadt and Eylau; and his services at this period occupy so large a part of the military history of Napoleon, that it is proper here to exhibit in full that portion of the life of the emperor in the field, which is embraced by

THE PRUSSIAN AND POLISH CAMPAIGNS OF 1806 AND 1807.

During the year 1806, the policy of Prussia, which had long been wavering and undecided, became fully determined against Napoleon; and the collision of France with the armies of the great Frederic was seen to be inevitable. The campaign opened in the beginning of October. Napoleon arrived at Wurzburg on the 3d, and his army, one hundred and fifty thousand strong, was then grouped around Bamberg and Cobourg. The Prussian force consisted of: thirty thousand under Prince Ruchel, forming the right wing, and stationed on Hesse; fifty-five thousand men forming the centre, under the king in person, with the aged duke of Brunswick as his lieutenant-general, assembled around Magdeburg; forty thousand men in Saxony under Prince

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Hohenlohe, with Prince Louis, the king's brother; and a detached corps of twelve thousand, under Blucher, in Westphalia. Confident in their military resources, and their long-established fame in the field, the Prussian leaders determined to march by their right upon Saalfield and Jena, turn the French left, and cut Napoleon off from the Rhine. This was an operation similar in character to that which had proved so fatal at Austerlitz, and as soon as it was fairly developed, Napoleon hastened to take advantage of it, and to fall upon the flank of the corps, which were then moving past his position. Early on the 9th, his whole army was pushed forward into Saxony by three roads. On the right, Ney and Soult marched on Plauen, and fell upon the Prussian magazines and reserve; in the centre, Murat, Davoust, and Bernadotte, marched on Saalbourg; while on the left, Lannes and Augereau advanced on Saalfield. On the 9th and 10th, the corps of Murat and Bernadotte fell upon detached bodies moving across the country, and disordered and drove them back: and Lannes on the left encountered the Prussian rear-guard, under Prince Louis, which was routed with the loss of eight hundred killed and wounded, twelve hundred prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon, and the death of the prince himself. At the first intelligence of Napoleon's movement, orders were given by the duke of Brunswick for all the troops to return, and concentrate about the king near Weimar, and Prince Hohenlohe near Jena. On the 12th, Hohenlohe with forty thousand men, was on the heights to the north of Jena, on the road to Weimar, with advanced posts on the Landgrafenberg, and the king of Prussia, with the duke of Brunswick, was

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about a league from Hohenlohe, nearer to Weimar, with sixty-five thousand men: Lannes was at Jena, Ney and Augereau in its immediate neighborhood, and Soult advancing upon the same place, while on the same day Murat, Davoust, and Bernadotte, were directed to march on Nuremberg, where important magazines were established. This last movement led the Prussian commander into an error which proved the fate of his armies and of his empire; for the king, alarmed for the safety of his magazines, advanced on the 13th with his corps, amounting to two thirds of the whole army, toward Sulza, and in the evening of that day reached Auerstadt, leaving Hohenlohe with forty thousand men to withstand Napoleon with ninety thousand. The Russian posts having been driven from the Langrafenberg, Napoleon on the 13th occupied it with the greater part of his army. It was between Jena and the heights on which Hohenlohe was established, and from it the emperor looked down upon the whole position of his enemies. On the night of the 13th, Augereau was stationed on the left of the mountain; Ney and Soult were ordered to march all night on the right, so as to attack the enemy on his left flank; Lannes's corps was established on the ridge and flanks of the mountain, ready to assail in front; the imperial guard under Lefebvre were stationed on the summit, where Napoleon, wrapped in his cloak, bivouacked during the night; and Murat with the cavalry was in Jena. The Prussian army was on another more gradual eminence, separated from the Langrafenberg by low grounds of some extent: their centre was on the village of Vierzehn-Heiligen, and their right extended toward Isserstadt: their rear rested on the villages of

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Cappellendorf and Romstedt, beyond which, Prince Ruchel was in reserve with twenty thousand men; and the front of their whole position was covered by the villages of Closwitz and Kospoda, at the foot of the eminence on which their army was stationed. About six o'clock on the morning of the 19th, the French army was in motion: a heavy fog rested on the ground, and concealed their movements; and the low grounds in front, and the villages beyond them, were carried before the Prussians had any idea that a general attack was intended. About nine o'clock, the fog lifted, and the brilliant sun-rays revealed to Hohenlohe the splendid but appalling spectacle of Lannes's corps ascending the slope in front of him, Ney's and Soult's advancing on his left, and Augereau rapidly turning his right. The Prussians, in admirable order, retreated along the eminence, to concentrate their force, and prevent their being outflanked, and to communicate with their reserves: but Ney, having captured a battery, and incurred a serious risk, from which Napoleon sent Bertrand to rescue him, now assaulted the village of Vierzehn-Heiligen on the left, while Lannes attacked it in front. It was finally carried, though with great loss, and Ney then fell upon the Prussian right wing, which, already pressed by Augereau on the other flank, speedily gave ground. On their left, the Prussian cavalry had gained some advantage till the solid lines of Soult's corps advanced, and poured such a deadly fire upon them that they were driven in confusion upon the infantry: meanwhile, Lannes and Augereau, pushing forward on their part, the whole line of the French army advanced, driving the disordered Prussian masses before them. Ruchel's reserve then appeared, laboring

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to stem the torrent of defeat; but it was too late: Napoleon, who, from his position on the summit of the mountain, was a spectator of every part of the field, had ordered Murat with his magnificent reserve of twelve thousand cavalry to advance. Ruchel was overborne by the resistless torrent; the entire Prussian army, routed and disorganized, was driven before the impetuous tide of conquest. The conquerors entered Weimar pell-mell with the fugitives; and Hohenlohe with difficulty rallied twenty squadrons of horse behind that town in the evening, which were the only relics of his army.

While this decisive victory was gaining at Jena, a far greater and more glorious battle was fought by Marshal Davoust at Auerstadt, and one of the most brilliant triumphs of skill and valor won that the annals of the whole revolutionary era record. When Lannes moved upon Jena, Davoust had been sent to Naumberg, and Bernadotte had been directed to advance to the intermediate position of Dornberg. Soon after midnight on the 13th–14th, the emperor, supposing that he had the whole Prussian army before him, sent renewed orders to Davoust to seize and hold the bridge of Naumberg over the Saale at all hazards, and, if practicable, to advance toward Apolda and fall upon the Prussian rear; Bernadotte, he added, if at hand, might co-operate in his movement, though it was hoped that he was already at Dornberg. Davoust, upon the receipt of this order, went at once to Bernadotte, who was at Naumberg, and proposed to act with him, and even offered to place himself under his command: but that marshal, jealous, cold, and malignant, chose to leave both the emperor and Davoust to the chances of fail-

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ure; and observing that the order contemplated his being at Dornberg, moved off in that direction, taking his own corps and a division of dragoons which had been detached from the reserve of cavalry to give aid to his corps and Davoust's jointly. Davoust was left with not more than twenty-six thousand men, in three divisions of infantry and three regiments of light cavalry; but the infantry divisions were the most celebrated in the army, being those of Gudin, Morand, and Friant.

Meanwhile the Prussian army, about seventy thousand strong, commanded by the aged duke of Brunswick, and accompanied by the king and princes, had been marching on the 13th along the high-road from Weimar to Naumberg, and halted at night around the village of Auerstadt. From the Saale, upon which Naumberg is situated, the road toward Auerstadt and Weimar ascends along a steep and winding route, called the defile of Kosen, to an elevated level which extends for some miles as far as Auerstadt. The heights of Sonnenberg bound this plateau on the left, and those of Speilberg on the right; in the centre of it is the village of Hassenhausen, on the right of which is a small wood. Davoust on the evening of the 13th had seized the defile of Kosen, and at six on the morning of the 14th he advanced in person with Gudin's division, debouched upon the plateau, and, after some skirmishing with the Prussian reconnoitring parties in the fog which rested in a dense mass upon the level, occupied Hassenhausen with one regiment, filled the wood upon its right with tirailleurs, and drew up on the right beyond it two other regiments in double line, and a third in column, ready to form into squares to protect the flanks from cavalry attacks. Morand's division, when it ar-

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rived, was to take position on the left, and Friant's on the right.

Fortunately for the French marshal, a defile near Auerstadt compelled the enemy to move in the same detached manner with himself, and to bring upon the field of battle the three divisions of Schmettau, Watersleben, and the prince of Orange, separately and in succession. That of Schmettau arrived first, and advancing toward Hassenhausen, received a sharp fire from the tirailleurs in the wood. The duke of Brunswick advised a halt until the other divisions arrived; but the king and Marshal Moellendorf recommending an immediate attack, Schmettau's division advanced a little to the left of the wood, hoping to avoid the ceaseless fire which poured forth from it: but the fog lifting, they beheld the other regiments drawn up in line, which at once opened a furious discharge of musketry. Blucher then placed himself at the head of a numerous body of cavalry, and making a circuit, charged Gudin's division upon its right flank. The regiment on the right threw itself instantly into square; the second line did the same: Blucher, advancing at the head of his troops in person, had his horse shot under him, and an incessant volley of balls checked and dispersed his columns as fast as they advanced. Three times the charge was renewed, and as often repulsed, until at last the squadrons were thrown into entire disorder, and the French light cavalry issuing forth, completed their rout.

Meanwhile, Friant's division having arrived, was drawn up on the right, and Gudin's concentrated in Hassenhausen; and on the other side, the division of Watersleben made its appearance. A combined attack was now made upon Hassenhausen: Schmettau's troops advancing in

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front, and Watersleben's turning its left, and occupying the plain which extended in that direction. The former were met by a terrible volley from the village, and could make no progress; the latter had moved forward and occupied the greater part of the level, when a part of Gudin's division deploying into line, and facing to the left, commenced a murderous fire upon the Prussian left flank. Its progress was quickly arrested; the duke of Brunswick was struck by a rifle-ball in the face, and with a handherchief over his face to prevent his being recognised, was carried mortally wounded from the field. Marshal Moellendorf and General Schmettau also received fatal wounds, and the king had a horse killed under him. The prince of Orange's division soon after came up: a part of it was sent to oppose Friant on the right, and the rest supported Watersleben.

Morand's division, however, began now to appear. Ascending the steep of Kosen in nine battalions, they deployed into column under the furious discharges of the Prussian artillery, and, with their guns in the intervals between the columns, they advanced upon the left of Hassenhausen, driving back Watersleben's division and that part of the prince of Orange's which was acting with it. To resist this formidable movement, which threatened to sweep the field, an immense column of cavalry, not less than ten thousand in number, was organized under Prince William behind Watersleben's ranks, and prepared for an overwhelming onset against Morand. The latter threw his columns into squares, placing the artillery at the angles, and coolly awaited the onset: Watersleben's lines presently opened, and the mighty mass of horsemen rolled forward like a tremendous torrent. The French, with calmness

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and intrepidity, reserved their fire until the cavalry were within thirty paces, and then opened with destructive effect. Again and again the Prussian officers endeavored to make their men charge the masses that glittered with bayonets; the shower of balls which awaited them as often as they approached, stopped or turned their progress. At length, disheartened, the cavalry retired. Morand then formed his men into columns and moved forward; Friant at the same time drove back the prince of Orange; and Gudin's division, which had borne the brunt of the day, and had suffered most severely, deployed in front of the village. The whole French line advanced, and the Prussian army was completely repulsed and defeated. Two Prussian divisions, however, under Marshal Kalkreuth, remained in reserve, which had not been engaged during the whole day, and which, if properly disposed of, might still have saved the crown of Prussia. A council was called at the Prussian headquarters: Blucher advised that the reserves should be brought forward, and all the remaining troops organized for one grand final attack. But other counsels prevailed, and a retreat was ordered. Kalkreuth was directed to cover it. Morand, now in occupation of the heights of Sonneberg, opened a raking fire, which, with the rapid advance of Gudin's men, compelled the retiring columns of the Prussians to move off with precipitation.

In this great battle, the Prussians, besides the duke of Brunswick, Moellendorf, Schmettau, and a number of other officers, lost ten thousand killed and wounded, and three thousand prisoners; while in the French army seven thousand were either killed or wounded, among whom also a very large proportion were officers.

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Morand and Gudin were both wounded. Davoust had been personally present in every part of the field, exposing himself fearlessly; heading Gudin's lines, or throwing himself into Morand's squares when the cavalry assailed them. At the head of one of the columns he was struck with a rifle-ball, which pierced his hat, and carried away some of his hair, without touching his head. On the following morning, Napoleon sent Duroc to Naumberg, with testimonials of approbation for Davoust's corps, and a letter to the marshal, in which he said to him, "Your soldiers and yourself, marshal, have acquired an everlasting right to my esteem and gratitude." The title of duke of Auerstadt, conferred in 1808, worthily appropriated to this brave soldier the glory of one of the most splendid days in the annals of victory.

The lines of the Prussian retreat from Jena and Auerstadt crossed one another, and the scene of confusion and dismay which followed during that night and the succeeding days baffles the power of language to describe. It was the wreck of a nation. Napoleon, seeing that the panic of the hour gave him an opportunity of making a prey of the whole kingdom, sat up the whole night dictating orders to his marshals, who issued forth in all directions to profit by the paralyzing effect of these two victories. On the 15th, Erfurth, which contained the grand park and artillery-stores of the army, and into which an immense body of fugitives from the army had thrown themselves, surrendered, with immense military supplies, a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, and fourteen thousand prisoners, among whom were the prince of Orange and Marshal Moellendorf. On the 15th, Soult came up with and defeated

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Kalkreuth's division of cavalry, the remains of the army, at Greussen; on the 17th, the duke of Würtemberg's reserve of fourteen thousand men was defeated at Halle by Bernadotte; and in the beginning of November, Blucher was defeated at Lubeck, and, having retired to the confines of Denmark, was there made prisoner. Stettin, Custrin, Magdeburg, Nieuberg, and Hameln, successively surrendered; on the 18th of October, Davoust entered Leipsig; and, on the 25th, took possession of Berlin. On the 31st of October, Napoleon reviewed Davoust's corps on the road between Berlin and Frankfort. He then summoned the officers around him, and expressed his sense of the merit which they had displayed at Auerstadt, and his regret for the losses which they had sustained. Davoust advanced and said in reply, "Sire, the soldiers of the third corps will always be to you what the tenth legion was to Cesar!"

The severity with which the anger of a remorseless soul was wreaked upon the unfortunate Prussians it is not a part of this design to touch upon. The military glory of the campaign is the only subject of present notice: and certainly the overthrow and degradation of a great European empire, and the possession of six principal fortresses, together with the capture of eighty thousand prisoners, four thousand pieces of artillery, three hundred and fifty standards, in the space of fifty days — reckoning from the opening of the campaign to the fall of Nieuberg — present results with which no achievements in the warfare of civilized nations bear any comparison.

Austria and Prussia having thus been humbled in the campaigns of Austerlitz and Jena, Russia alone remained

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among the great Christian powers of Europe to cope with the formidable conqueror. On the 1st of December, his army, consisting of eight corps, and amounting to nearly one hundred thousand men, occupied Warsaw and both banks of the Vistula, above and below; and a Russian army of seventy-five thousand was assembled about Pultusk, with which a Prussian corps of fifteen thousand, under General Lestocq, might be expected to co-operate. The operations in the beginning of this campaign — the battle of Pultusk on the 26th of December, and the combat of Golymin — are so disconnected with the line of decisive results, that the record of them may be omitted here. On the 28th, the French army was put into cantonments between the Ukra and the Narew, and the emperor returned to Warsaw, and directed his attention to the reduction of the remaining Prussian fortresses in Silesia. Meanwhile, the Russian corps under Benningsen and Buxhowden, which the previous manœuvres of Napoleon had separated, effected a junction at Biala on the 14th of January, and suddenly resuming the offensive, poured down upon the scattered outposts of the French army in formidable columns. Ney's corps was surprised and considerably damaged, and Bernadotte was attacked at Mohungen, and his baggage captured. Napoleon was instantly on the alert. On the 23d, orders were issued for assembling the whole army about Wittenburg; on the 27th, it was organized and on its march toward the north; and on the 30th, the emperor left Warsaw. Benningsen, in his turn, began to retire, intending to receive battle at Prussich-Eylau; on the 4th, his troops retreated to Frauendorf; on the 5th and 6th, they passed through

1807.

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Deppen and through Lansberg, where a severe combat occurred; and on the morning of the 7th, reached Eylau, and took up a position on the other side of the town. A violent and sanguinary conflict occurred on this day in the town, which finally remained in the hands of the French. The Russian army occupied an irregular plain, covered with ice and snow, and about two miles in length and one mile in breadth. Their centre, consisting of a body of ten thousand men drawn up in two lines under Bagration, with a battery of four hundred pieces in front, and a reserve in close double columns under Doctoroff behind, was in front of Eylaw; their right, under Tutschakoff, was on both sides of Schoditten; and their left, under Osterman and Tolstoy, rested on the village of Serpallen: the cavalry, a horse-artillery of sixty guns, and the Cossacks, under Platoff, were in reserve.

About daybreak the battle began. Davoust was ordered to march about three leagues to the right, so as to turn the enemy's left; while Soult in the centre, preceded by one hundred and fifty guns, and Augereau on the French left, marched forward to the attack. A destructive fire was poured into both these corps from the Russian batteries, which were placed so as to play with murderous effect upon Augereau. A snowstorm suddenly darkened the air; and while the French left wing was checked and disordered by the heavy discharges with which it was assailed, it was attacked on its left flank by Tutschakoff, and on its right by the reserve under Doctoroff, and the Cossacks. It was speedily broken, driven back in wild confusion into Eylau, nearly the whole corps destroyed or captured, and Augereau himself badly wounded. Napoleon, who

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at the beginning of the action had ascended the steeple of the church of Eylau, was in imminent danger of being surrounded and taken by the flood of Cossacks which swept up the streets. He instantly ordered some battalions of the old guard to attack them on one side, and a brigade of cavalry to charge on the other, and the enemy were speedily driven back. Napoleon now prepared for a desperate attack upon their centre: Soult's corps was reformed, and, accompanied by the imperial guard, and forming in all a body of twenty-five thousand infantry, together with fourteen thousand cavalry under Murat, and a battery of two hundred pieces, advanced in terrible array. The Russian lines were broken like glass by this resistless onset; but the men, instead of taking to flight, formed themselves into little squares, and enfeebled the force of the assault, if they could not arrest it: the infantry of the reserve were immediately formed into close lines to receive the approaching column, and, when these were broken through, an impetuous shock of the Cossacks awaited the French, who, by this third line of opponents, were completely stopped and repelled.

But while the Russians had thus triumphed on their right, and while the centre was the scene of a doubtful struggle, Davoust, on the French right, had gained a decisive advantage. "Here," said that general of iron obstinacy, "here is the spot where the brave must find a glorious death: cowards will expire in the depths of Siberia!" After an obstinate and lengthened contest, he had taken the villages of Klein, Saussgarten, and Serpallen, and the latter being fired during the engagement, huge volumes of smoke were rolling back upon the centre. Benningsen, with consummate judgment,

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drew back his left wing upon his centre, so as to bring it within the protection of the reserve and the main body, and the progress of Davoust was thus arrested. Toward the close of the day, Lestocq, who had been all day marching toward the scene of action, closely pursued by Ney, arrived on the extreme right of the Russians, and was immediately ordered by Benningsen to pass round to the left, and endeavor to restore the battle in that quarter. These directions were gallantly obeyed, and the left again became the scene of a furious engagement. Ney, meanwhile following Lestocq, assaulted and carried Schloditten, but it was speedily retaken by Benningsen.

It was now ten at night, and the advantage of the field up to this time must be considered as resting with the Russians; but the retirement of Benningsen during the night enabled Napoleon, with some appearance of reason, to claim a victory. This step on the part of the Russian commander, if dimming the brilliance of his achievement, was undoubtedly a proof of judgment. About eleven o'clock in the evening he held a council of his officers, without dismounting from their horses; and though Osterman, Tolstoy, and Lestocq, were strongly in favor of renewing the attack in the morning, he considered that the arrival of Ney's corps, and the approach of Bernadotte's, which had not been engaged on this day, gave so great a promise of superiority to the enemy, that it was prudent to secure his retreat to Konigsberg. An eminent French general said of Napoleon's success, "It was a battle gained and a victory lost." In this terrible conflict between the armed powers of the north and the south, Napoleon's loss was thirty thousand killed and wounded, and twelve eagles;

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and the Russian loss twenty-five thousand killed and wounded, eighty-four standards, and sixteen guns. Napoleon remained upon the field for nine days, and then sent proposals for peace, which were promptly rejected by the king of Prussia. He then drew back to the Passarge, and put his army into cantonments between Osterode and Wormditt. Benningsen immediately advanced through Eylau, and on the 25th established his headquarters at Larsberg. Both parties claimed the victory; but their movements, and the result of the campaign, demonstrated that neither was entitled to boast of success.

The interval which elapsed before hostilities were resumed was marked by the fall of the Silesian fortresses of Schweidnitz and Neiss, and the still more important city of Dantzig, which, after a very protracted siege, surrendered on the 27th of May. Both parties were actively preparing for the campaign which was at hand. By the end of March, the whole force under Benningsen amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand; while that which Napoleon had assembled on the Narew and Passarge was not less than one hundred and eighty-five thousand, of whom thirty-five thousand were cavalry. The war recommenced on the 4th of June, 1807, with an attack by Benningsen upon Marshal Ney's corps, which was in an exposed position at Guttstadt on the Passarge; but the vigor of the assault was so moderated, that Ney escaped with little loss. Napoleon immediately concentrated his whole army; the Russians fell back to a strongly-entrenched camp which had been constructed at Heilsberg, on the Alle, a stream running northwardly into the Baltic. On the 10th, the camp was attacked in front with great in-

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trepidity; but after an obstinate contest, the French were repulsed with the loss of twelve thousand men. On the following day Napoleon turned the right flank of the position by pushing Davoust's corps forward toward Konigsberg, upon which place the entrenched camp was dependent for its daily supplies; and on the night of the 11th and morning of the 12th, Benningsen evacuated Heilsberg, and reached Friedland in the evening. On the same day, the corps of Lannes, Ney, and Mortier, with Napoleon in person, were marching by Domnau toward Friedland; Murat and Soult were advancing to Konigsberg; and Victor was approaching Kreutzburg. On the night of the 13th, the vanguard of the French army under Lannes had reached Posthenen, a village about three miles westward from Friedland; Mortier's corps was approaching the same point; and Ney's and Bernadotte's corps, with Napoleon himself, were still some distance in the rear. Benningsen, who was on the right bank of the Alle, opposite to Friedland, with fifty thousand men, conceived that an opportunity was offered for striking a blow at Lannes, who had only Oudinot's and Verdier's divisions with him, not amounting to fifteen thousand men, and might be destroyed before the other corps could arrive. This design, had it been executed with the requisite rapidity, was a plausible one; but so languidly did Benningsen put it into operation, that it proved the ruin of his army. About two o'clock in the morning of the 14th, he marched a portion of his army across the Alle upon three bridges, and a heavy cannonade began between these troops and the corps under Lannes. Mortier's corps, however, began to arrive, and Benningsen gradually increased his force on the left bank, until at length the whole of

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his army was brought over the river. Two attacks by the French — one with cavalry upon the Russian right, and one with infantry upon the centre — were repelled with loss; and Lannes drew back his men to the skirts of a wood, behind the villages of Posthenen and Heindrichsdorf, between three and four miles from the Alle. Meanwhile, Benningsen, finding the enemy's numbers so much increased, abandoned all idea of a surprise; and though his army was drawn up in line of battle, he intended nothing else than to recross the river in the evening. But he had forgotten that his antagonist was Napoleon. That commander, whose sagacity to detect a mistake by his enemy was as piercing as his energy to take advantage of it was instant, had heard the firing at Domnau, about nine miles distant, and rode rapidly forward to the heights behind Heindrichsdorf, from which he looked down upon the movements of the Russians. He at once saw the monstrous error into which Benningsen had been betrayed by his own ingenuity: "It is the anniversary of Marengo!" he exclaimed; "I will give them a repetition of that battle." It was but one o'clock: upon the first alarm, orders had been given to the corps in the rear to hasten forward, and the lengthened summer afternoon promised time enough for the ruin of the enemy. The troops were allowed half an hour to repose; and at five they were formed in line of battle on the skirts of the wood. Ney occupied the right; on his left, in echelon, was Bernadotte's corps, commanded by Victor; on his left was Mortier with a small corps; and next to him in the line was Marshal Lannes. The guard formed the second line in the centre. The attack began with the right a little in advance: Ney's

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corps dashed forward with the utmost impetuosity, far in advance of the other corps; but they were met by the Russian guard, disordered, and driven back, and the guard itself advanced beyond the French line. At that moment a division of Victor's corps, commanded by Dupont, without any order from the marshal, charged this advanced column in flank, and arrested their progress, while a battery of eight-and-forty pieces opened a destructive fire from the rest of Victor's corps. Ney's columns were reformed, and the battle became general. The contest was maintained with extraordinary obstinacy; but when eighty thousand troops, of which ten thousand were cavalry, were opposed to forty thousand infantry and eight thousand horse, the result could not long be doubtful. The Russian masses, dreadfully thinned by the fire that was poured in upon them, gradually retired toward the town of Friedland, and through it to the river. The passage was conducted with a deliberation and order of which perhaps no other troops in Europe would have been capable, yet the loss was immense. The Russians had had on their right twenty-two squadrons of horse, which now protected the retreat with great effect; while by some strange neglect, above forty on the side of the French were not engaged nor even invested, but idly occupied a plain on the left. It may readily be conjectured that Murat was not on the field. The Russians lost in this unfortunate engagement about eighteen thousand killed and wounded, and a large quantity of artillery; while the French loss was about eight thousand men. The blow was decisive of the military condition of Russia in the present campaign: the army retired to the Niemen; Konigsberg was occupied on the 16th; and, on

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the 19th, the emperor Alexander communicated his wish for an armistice.

In the operations in the spring of 1809, Davoust commanded the third corps; and his gallantry in the opening of the campaign, especially at Eckmuhl, where he commanded the left, were so conspicuous, that he was the same year created prince of Eckmuhl. The vast services rendered by him at Wagram will be seen in the notice upon that battle in the life of Massena.

In December, 1810, after the union of the Hanse towns with the empire, the prince of Eckmuhl was appointed governor-general of Hamburg and the Hanseatic departments. In 1812, he accompanied Napoleon to Russia, and commanded the first corps of the grand army, a magnificent body of seventy thousand men. The prince entertained strong hopes that in case Poland should be re-established, he would be made viceroy of that kingdom. This ambition on his part, or some other circumstance not fully known, excited the jealousy and displeasure of the emperor to some extent at this time, and contributed to produce that preference for Murat during the advance to Moscow which led to many mischiefs. At the assault upon Smolenks, on the 17th of August, Davoust was the most efficient of the marshals; but after that time, on the march to Moscow, he was placed under the orders of Murat. To this inferiority, which wounded his pride, and was felt as a kind of disgrace, he yielded with ill-disguised impatience and reluctance, and on several occasions his contempt for his superior officer manifested itself in open refusal to obey his commands. On the day before the battle of Borodino, the prince of Eckmuhl ap-

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proached Napoleon with a plan for the battle, in which he proposed to march during the night on the enemy's left, and take the Russians, in the morning, upon the flank and rear of that wing. Napoleon listened to the marshal attentively and in silence for some time, and then said, "No! it is too great a movement; it would remove me too far from my object, and make me lose too much time." The prince, convinced of the advantages of his suggestion, persisted in recommending it; and offered to accomplish the manœuvre before six o'clock in the morning. Napoleon replied sharply: "Ah! you are always for turning the enemy; it is too dangerous a manœuvre!" The marshal said no more, and returned to his post. During the battle, he displayed his wonted valor. In an attack which he led against the first Russian redoubt with the divisions of Campans and Desaix, preceded by thirty pieces of cannon, he was wounded, but continued to combat with unabated eagerness.

On the march from Moscow, Davoust supported the retreat as far as Wiasma, where Ney took the post of danger and glory. Davoust rejoined the army at Krasnoe with about four thousand men, the remains of his seventy thousand. "He had lost everything," says Segur; "was without linen, and was emaciated with hunger. He seized upon a loaf which was offered to him and devoured it. A handkerchief was given to him to wipe his face, which was covered with wine. He exclaimed that 'none but men of iron constitutions could support such trials; that it was physically impossible to resist them; that there were limits to human strength, the farthest of which had been exceeded.'"

Hamburg, which had been left under the command

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of Cara St. Cyr, fell into the hands of the Russians on the 18th of March, 1813; and soon after, Davoust was recalled to France. An anecdote is related of his fierce and fearless courage at this time. In passing through a village, accompanied by two persons only, the popular fury against the French had risen to such a height, that a crowd surrounded his carriage and were about to unharness his horses. The marshal rushed into the midst of the throng, seized upon the ringleader, dragged him behind his carriage, and made his servants fasten him to it. The people, astonished and awed by this resolute action, gave way, and the marshal drove off, carrying his prisoner with him.

In the campaign of Saxony in 1813, Davoust commanded the eleventh corps, and occupied the Elbe from Dessau to Torgau. After the battle of Lutzen, and the retirement of the allies behind the Elbe, Hamburg was besieged by Vandamme, under Davoust's orders, and surrendered on the 30th of May. Davoust occupied it with an army of twenty-five thousand French and ten thousand Danes. After the battle of Leipsig, Bernadotte manœuvred without success for the reduction of this important place. Denmark and the Danish forces were detached from the French alliance, but Davoust shut himself in the city, and declared that he would make another Saragossa. With the energy and activity that he had so often displayed in the acquisition of victory, he now set himself to work in the maintenance of a hopeless and ruined cause. He established defensive works upon a vast and cumbrous scale. He employed Bertrand to construct a wooden bridge of communication between Hamburg and Haarburg, by joining the islands of the Elbe to the mainland along

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a distance of nearly two leagues. This magnificent structure, twenty-five hundred fathoms in length, was completed in eighty-three days. It was soon after the battle of Leipsig that the Russians, under Strogonoff, began the siege. In the end of January, 1814, Benningsen took the command in person. During February and March, repeated attacks were made with the utmost fury upon the island of Williamsburg, but were repelled with unflinching courage. Four thousand men perished on both sides during this winter siege; until Benningsen, in despair of carrying the place by assault, converted the siege into a blockade, and trusted the reduction of the city to time and want. The spirit and confidence of Davoust remained unabated until, in April, intelligence arrived of the events which had taken place at Paris. Davoust at first disbelieved it; and so unworthy of credit was it deemed for some time, that several hawkers, who circulated the news from Paris, were arrested. At length, the tidings being fully confirmed, the marshal assembled the troops, informed them of the overthrow of the emperor, hoisted the white flag, and sent in his adhesion to the provisional government. He then resigned the command to General Gérard, quitted Hamburg, and arrived in Paris on the 18th of June.

During the period of the first restoration, Davoust received no favor or countenance from the court; but on the return of Napoleon, he was appointed minister of war, and, when the emperor set out for Waterloo, he was one of the council who were charged with the government in his absence. He was placed in supreme command of the French army, amounting to one hundred thousand men and twenty-five thousand cavalry,

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after Napoleon's abdication in 1815; and having concluded a convention with the allied commanders, led it beyond the Loire. He yielded to the new accession of Louis XVIII., and, in obedience to his order, transferred his command to Macdonald, and exhorted the soldiers to sustain the king. In 1819, he was made a peer of France; and on the 1st of June, 1823, he died at Paris, aged fifty-three years, leaving two daughters, and a son, who inherited his title.

The character of Davoust, while it had some qualities which should command respect, had none that inspire either affection or enthusiasm. Concentrated and intense in his temper, despotic in will, and inflexible in resolution, he moved in what seemed to him the sphere of duty, with a rigid and gloomy pertinacity. Abrupt and harsh in his manners, severe in discipline, rigorous in conduct, he repelled the sympathy of those who might be inclined to admire the hardy virtues of his system, and seemed to delight in outraging the sensibilities of those for whom he was perhaps enduring the greatest labors. His character bore some resemblance to that of Frederic the Great; and if the faults of a gloomy temper, an unfeeling spirit, and an iron tyranny, are to be objected to the marshal as well as to the monarch, to both must be conceded the possession of a high and self-sacrificing devotion to duty, which is more likely to be appreciated at a distance than admired by those who are near at hand. Davoust's severities were exercised only for the public good. His soul was in his profession or his employment. He incurred immeasurable odium for his exactions in Prussia; but he exercised this harshness, not, like Massena, for his own enrichment, but for the national advantage. Napoleon

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knew this, and defended his reputation at St. Helena. "I do not think him a bad character," said he. "He never plundered for himself. He certainly levied contributions; but they were for the army. It is necessary for an army, especially when besieged, to provide for itself." There was, too, in the depths of his stern and unconciliating spirit, a sentiment of personal loyalty toward Napoleon that often exhibited itself with a touching interest: when the emperor was flying through the streets of Moscow from the flames that threatened the Kremlin, he met the prince of Eckmuhl, who, still suffering from his wound, had desired his attendants to carry him back among the flames, either to rescue Napoleon, or to perish with him; and when the marshal saw his chief, he threw himself into his arms with transport. His heroic adherence to the cause of the emperor, and his earnest defence of Hamburg, shine with conspicuous lustre amid the moral darkness of so much faithlessness. Though unfortunately defeatured by a certain bitterness and morosity, his character was not without some lineaments of greatness. He had none of the vulgar vices of a revolutionary era. If he had much that was unamiable in his temper, he had nothing that was paltry or contemptible. The pettinesses of vanity and self-illustration, the sordid baseness of self-aggrandizement, did not degrade a character which, if it wanted the softness and brilliance of romantic fame, lacked none of the disinterestedness of heroic grandeur.

Davoust's qualities were such as made him an admirable commander on a doubtful field. For obstinately maintaining a difficult position against a threatening enemy, or driving back a formidable force by the cease-

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less fury of his assaults, no general was superior to him. But as a high tactician, his merit was not great. When some one spoke of him as one of the best of the French generals, Napoleon replied, "As to being one of the first of the French generals, he was by no means so, though a good general." He suffered from a defect of vision, his sight being excessively short.

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ANDRÉ MASSENA,

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, MAY 19, 1804:

DUKE OF RIVOLI: PRINCE OF ESSLING.

ANDRÉ MASSENA was born on the 6th of May, 1756, at Nice, where his father, Jules Massena, followed the calling of a wine-merchant. The earliest scene of his distinction, as well as the field of his mature fame, was in the immediate neighborhood of the country of his birth. At a very early age, he enlisted in a Piedmontese regiment, and, in 1775, entered the French service as a soldier in the royal Italian regiment, afterward called the first regiment of light-infantry. He rose, gradually, through the successive ranks of service; became a corporal in 1776, and a sergeant in 1777, and so continued until 1789, when he received his discharge. In his retirement at Antibes, upon the breaking out of the Revolution, he warmly embraced the popular principles, and again entered the army under favorable auspices. In 1791, he became adjutant-major in the second battalion of the Var, and, in the year following was made a major; in which rank his intimate knowledge of the country rendered him of service to General Anselm, who was the first commander of the army of Italy. General Biron, his successor, spoke so highly of his talents to the Convention, that he was made a general of brigade, and a general of division, in 1793. In March, 1794, he commanded

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one of the corps of the army of Italy, at Nice, under General Dumorbion, when Napoleon joined it as commander of the artillery; and he led one of the divisions in the operations, undertaken by Napoleon's advice, in March and April. At the battle of Loano, under General Scherer, in November, 1795, he commanded the central attack, and distinguished himself by his bravery. Napoleon found him in the same position when he took the command in March, 1796. His brilliant achievements during the subsequent campaign in Italy, and the extent to which he contributed to the victories of Montenotte, Mellesimo, Dego, Mondovi, Rivoli, Roveredo, Arcola, and his brilliant valor at the pass of Tarvis, have already been fully stated in the history of the campaign, in the memoir of Napoleon. "It was in acknowledgment," says Napoleon in his memoirs, "of the services rendered in so many battles by General Massena, that the emperor afterward made him Duke of Rivoli." Napoleon appreciated his services very highly. After stating, in one of his dictations at St. Helena, that Augereau was sent to Paris with the colors taken after the fall of Mantua, he adds: "It would, nevertheless, have been more natural to have sent them by Massena, who had very superior claims; but the general-in-chief had much more dependence on the latter, with a view to the campaign in Germany, and did not choose to part with him." At the termination of the campaign, however, he was sent to carry to the Directory the preliminary treaty of Leoben. He was received in a solemn audience, on the 9th of May; and, on the 18th, the public authorities gave him a magnificent fête in the hall of the Odéon.

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The military reputation of General Massena was now established on a high and firm basis; but an unfortunate occurrence soon after brought the infirmities of his civil character to the public eye, in a manner very injurious to his reputation. He was, in truth, sordid and rapacious, to a degree distinguished even among the revolutionary soldiers of that day. In February, 1798, he superseded Berthier in the command of the army which was in occupation of Rome. The rapine to which the city had been subjected by the agents of the Directory, was so outrageous as to rouse the indignation of the soldiery, whose pay remained in arrear, while a few were enriching themselves by plunder. A great meeting of the army was held in the Pantheon, on the 24th of February; and in the resolutions that were passed, the new commander-in-chief was denounced by name. "The third cause of the general discontent," said the remonstrance of the army, "is the arrival of General Massena. The soldiers have not forgotten the extortions and robberies which he has made, wherever he has had the command: the Venetian territories, and especially Padua, are full of evidence of his guilt." Massena ordered his soldiers to disperse the meeting, but they refused; and an open revolt being thus signalized, he quitted Rome, leaving General D'Allemagne in command, and retired to Ancona. Massena published a memoir, in justification of his character; but public opinion remained unsatisfied with his deportment.

For a year Massena continued without employment; but, in the beginning of 1799, he was named commander-in-chief of the army of Helvetia, and ordered to operate in the mountains of the Grisons. He here

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rose to the character of a great general, and established a military reputation of the first class. The campaign opened on the 5th of March, by a noble combined movement of the different corps against the Austrian general (Auffenberg), who was surrounded and compelled to lay down his arms, with two thousand men and ten pieces of cannon, near Coire. On the 23d, Massena made a fierce assault upon the important fortress of Feldkirch; but was repulsed, with a loss of three thousand men. In the beginning of April, upon Jourdan's visiting Paris after the defeat at Stockach, Massena was placed in command of the army of the Rhine, as well as that of the Alps. He at once drew back the troops into a strong position in the Grisons, and repulsed a general attack made upon his lines by Hotze and Bellegarde, in the end of April, at the same time that he crushed, with promptness and vigor, an insurrection of the Swiss peasantry in his rear. A subsequent attack, in the middle of May, by the archduke Charles upon Massena's positions, was successful, and he was obliged to abandon the Grisons, and fall back behind the lake of Zurich. About the 20th of May, his army was in a strongly-fortified position about the town of Zurich; and here he maintained himself, with that obstinacy which formed one of his most marked characteristics. A vehement attack was made upon him by the archduke, on the 5th of June, which was repulsed with great loss; but, on the following night, Massena retreated to a higher and stronger position, on Mount Albis, between Lucerne and Zurich.

Both parties remained in inaction for some months, expecting reinforcements; and, in the meantime, fortunately for the reputation of Massena, the Aulic Council

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determined to transfer the archduke, who was the only person able to compete with the French general, to the Rhine, with his disciplined Austrian troops, and supply his place with Russian troops, under Korsakow, from Italy. In the middle of August, Massena determined to make an attack on the mountain heights, which are crowned by the St. Gothard, and thus to separate the Italian forces of the allies from their German troops. He accordingly strengthened his right wing, by the accumulation of the principal part of his army there, under Lecourbe and Oudinot, who advanced, on the 14th of August, and drove the Austrians, after desperate struggles, from the Grimsel and the Furca, and occupied the summit of Mont St. Gothard; while, about the same time, the Austrian right was driven into Glarus, and there defeated. Toward the end of September, while Massena was on the line of the Limmat, with forty thousand men, Korsakow was at Zurich, with twenty-five thousand; and a plan was formed, by which Suwarrow was to advance, from Milan, across Mont St. Gothard, and forming a junction with Korsakow, at Zurich, attack Massena in front, while Hotze assailed him on the flank. Massena, however, resolved to anticipate these operations, by throwing his whole force on Korsakow before Suwarrow could arrive. Massena's dispositions for the capture of this general in Zurich, were conceived and executed with the utmost ability. On the 27th, Mortier was ordered to make a feigned attack upon the town in front, sufficient to engage the attention of the bulk of the Russian centre, while, on the right, Oudinot, with fifteen thousand men, passed the river at Closter-Fahr, and ascended to the heights behind Zurich, and, on the left, General

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Menard engaged Durassow, with the Russian right wing, on the lower Limmat. The arrangement succeeded in every part. While the Russian commander was repulsing Mortier, who retired before him in some confusion, intelligence was brought him that Oudinot was descending from the heights in his rear, sweeping everything before him, and that his right wing, under Durassow, was cut off. Korsakow's situation was desperate, and Massena summoned him to surrender; but the resolute and unyielding Russian determined to cut his way through the midst of his enemies, cost what it might. Accordingly, on the 28th, he marched out, and making his way through the fiercest fire of the adversary, succeeded in escaping, with the loss of all his artillery and baggage. Eight thousand killed and wounded, and five thousand prisoners, attested the magnitude of the victory of Zurich. Suwarrow arrived in the mountains too late to retrieve the fortunes of the allied arms, and was forced, reluctantly, to retreat. The political results of this battle were even greater than its military consequences. It led to recriminations between the Austrian and Russian commanders, and, afterward, to a rupture and separation: the Austrian and Russian cabinets partook of the division thus created; Russia withdrew her troops, and that alliance was broken up which threatened the subjection of France, and which was not re-established until Prussia, Russia, and Austria, having each felt its inability to cope, separately, with France, joined again in united hostility to its formidable legions.

When Napoleon became first-consul, and the campaign against Austria reopened, he recalled Massena from Switzerland, and gave him the command of the

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army of Italy. "This general," he remarks, in his memoirs, "who was well acquainted with all the passes of the Apennines, was more fit than any other person for this war of manœuvres." He arrived at his headquarters on the 10th of February, 1800. About thirty-five thousand men were here placed under his command: his left, consisting of twelve thousand men, in four divisions, was intrusted to Suchet; the centre, of about the same strength, was commanded by Soult; while the right, of five thousand, was under Miollis; and there was a reserve, of about five thousand men, in Genoa. The Austrian army in Italy amounted to above sixty thousand men, commanded in chief by Melas, who, with the centre, was at Acqui; while Ott commanded his left, and Elnitz his right. On the 6th of April the Austrians advanced. Suchet was separated from the centre, and driven by Elnitz toward the Var, and prevented from any further communication with Massena; and Ott, on the same day, drove in the advanced posts around Genoa, and occupied Monte Faccio and Monte Ratti, and produced the utmost consternation in the city. At sunrise, on the following day, Massena opened the gates, and issued out, with Miollis's division and the reserve, attacked Ott in the rear, precipitated his divisions into the marshes, and retook all the posts, and returned in the evening, with fifteen hundred prisoners, and several cannon and colors. From the 9th to the 21st of April, Massena, Soult, and Suchet, executed a variety of movements, and made a number of attempts, with a view to restoring the communications between the left and main body of the army, but in vain. On the last day, Massena entered Genoa; and from that time his position,

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surrounded on land by the Austrians, and blockaded on the other side by the English squadron, under Lord Keith, assumed the character of a besieged garrison. Being without provisions, a capitulation was obviously inevitable; but, with the hope of being relieved by Napoleon, he still held out, with all that obstinate endurance which belonged to him. Melas marched toward the Var, leaving Ott to maintain the siege with thirty thousand men. Meanwhile, the distress within the city, where a population of fifty thousand persons, besides the garrison, was shut up without supplies, became excessive. On the 24th of May, the distribution of bread ceased, and cocoa alone was served out. A pound of bad bread was selling for thirty francs; a pound of meat for six francs; a fowl for thirty-two francs. On the same day, Lannes, with the advanced guard of the army under Napoleon, had reached Ivrea. It depended on a few days, or even a few hours, whether the relief would take effect before the patience of the city was exhausted. On the 2d of June, the women assembled, tumultuously demanding bread or death. Everything was to be feared from the despair of so numerous a population. Massena yielded to the necessity, and promised the people that, if he was not relieved in twenty-four hours, he would treat. In compliance with his word, on the 3d of June he sent Andrieux to General Ott; and, after negotiations for twenty-four hours, it was agreed that, of the twelve thousand men under Massena, eight thousand five hundred should march out, with their arms and baggage, to Votri, and the residue, with the general-in-chief, should be conveyed by sea, with all their guns, to Antibes. Nothing could be more honorable to Massena

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than these terms: yet a single hour more might have saved the surrender, for, as Andrieux entered the antechamber of Ott, he met an Austrian staff-officer, who brought orders from Melas for the raising of the siege, and the removal of the whole blockading corps upon the Po.

When Napoleon returned to Paris, after the battle of Marengo, he left Massena commander-in-chief of the army of Italy; but, in the following year, either because he was disgusted with Massena's rapacity, or because he found him opposed to his designs of reconstructing a monarchical system, he nominated General Brune to this post, in place of Massena. The latter returned to Paris, and entering the legislative body, acted with the republican party, and made no concealment of his opposition to the establishment of the empire. "Massena," says Bourrienne, who seems to have apprehended his character with a good deal of correctness, "loved two things — glory and money: but as to what are termed honors, he valued only those which resulted from the command of an army; and his recollections all bound him to the republic, because it recalled to his mind the most brilliant and glorious events of his military career." He had his full share of the rewards of the empire, however; for he was created marshal, and grand-eagle of the legion of honor, when the other generals received these distinctions.

In 1805, when Napoleon advanced along the valley of the Danube to Vienna and Austerlitz, Massena was intrusted with the chief command of the army of Italy, amounting to fifty thousand men, where the archduke Charles was his opponent, with an army of ninety thousand. Hostilities commenced on the morning of the

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19th of October, by the forcing of the bridge of Verona; an enterprise whose skill and audacity were not exceeded by any occurrence during the war. The archduke took up a position of impregnable strength, at Caldiero, where Massena attacked him on the 29th and 30th of October, with great bravery and pertinacity, but without a victory. The progress of Napoleon, however, rendered it necessary for the archduke to retire for the protection of Vienna, which he did with great firmness, and in perfect order, on the 3d and 4th of November, followed by Massena. The former reached Laybach, in Carinthia, on the 12th; and Massena soon after put himself in communication with Marmont's corps, near Vienna.

After the peace of Presburg, Massena was sent again to command in Italy, and was ordered to assemble an army for the invasion of Calabria, in connexion with Joseph Bonaparte's assumption of the crown of Naples. In the middle of February, with eighteen thousand men, he laid siege to Gaeta, where the Prince of Hesse-Philipsthal, with a garrison of eight thousand, made a heroic and able resistance. The siege was maintained for several months, with a vigor on both sides that render it one of the most glorious of the times; but about the middle of July the prince was mortally wounded, by the explosion of a shell, and his successor was not as valiant as himself. On the 18th of July, Gaeta capitulated, the garrison marching out with all the honors of war. An insurrection of the peasantry of Calabria was then put down by Massena, with his usual thoroughness: the decisive engagement of Monte Galdo, on the 5th of August, terminated the organized

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resistance, but quietness and order were not restored until the middle of November.

In 1807, Massena was placed in command of the fifth corps of the grand army of Germany, and, in the following year, was created Duke of Rivoli. In the campaign of 1809, he commanded the fourth corps of the grand army, and took part in the operations about Eckmuhl, in April of that year, though without being engaged in that battle. In the advance down the Danube to Vienna, Massena commanded the advanced guard; and the desperate and brilliant assault on the bridge of Ebersberg, on the 3d of May, and seizure of the pass, is one of the most splendid events in the life of a general whose career was crowded with scenes of glory. The transcendent valor and firmness with which, at Aspern, he sustained, with Lannes, the weight of the whole Austrian army, and, as with a giant's arm, upheld the tottering throne of Napoleon, are already recorded in the history of that battle, in the life of Lannes. His share in the victory of Wagram, also, was so great, and so meritorious, that it is proper here to give a detailed view of that engagement, and the circumstances by which it was preceded; resuming the general thread of Napoleon's history where it was left at the close of the battle of Aspern.

CAMPAIGN OF WAGRAM.

After the battle of Essling, the command of all the troops in the island of Lobau was given to Massena, while arrangements were made with incredible activity for the construction of a large bridge for the passage of the Danube, and the concentration of all the

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troops south of the Danube in the island, from which they were to debouch. The works executed at this time by the engineer department, under the orders of Lieutenant-General Bertrand, who had been considered one of the best engineers in France, were probably the most extraordinary that have ever been constructed in any campaign since the days of Vauban: the bridge of Cesar over the Rhine, and all the other structures of the Roman armies, must yield to them in the grandeur of their conception, and the rapidity and perfection of their execution. With the aid of a battalion of naval artisans of every trade, and a corps of twelve hundred sailors who had arrived from Antwerp under naval officers, and the immense resources contained in the arsenals of Vienna, Bertrand in twenty-two days constructed three bridges two hundred and forty toises in length, from the right bank of the Danube to the island of Lobau, two being upon piles, and the third of boats.

Meanwhile, orders were despatched to every corps in the army to concentrate at Ebersdorf: these orders were written and signed in advance, and had the exact date when they were to be sent affixed to them, as well as the precise hour of the day when the corps was to reach Ebersdorf, graduated according to the distance that the troops had to march. On the afternoon of the 2d of July, the emperor removed his headquarters from Schöenbrunn to Ebersdorf, and at the same moment troops had begun to arrive from all directions. Orders had been sent to Eugene to bring up the army of Italy, which consisted of four divisions, and to Marmont to advance with his two divisions from Dalmatia; Bernadotte, with the Saxon troops—Vandamme, with the

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troops of the Confederation of the Rhine — and Wrede, with the Bavarians, had been directed to hasten down the valley of the Danube, and Macdonald to descend from the Alps of Carinthia and Carniola. From the 2d to the 4th of July, these various corps were arriving; and as fast as they came up, they were marched into the island of Lobau. One hundred and fifty thousand infantry, seven hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and three hundred squadrons of cavalry, constituted the army concentrated in that singular position. On the night of the 4th, four bridges, prepared beforehand, were thrown across the narrow channel between the island and the left bank; one of these bridges, prepared in a sewer in the island, consisted of a single piece, constructed with such admirable precision and completeness, that within ten minutes after it had been launched from the sewer, the troops were crossing upon it. It was the invention of a naval engineer-officer, and was considered so extraordinary, that a model was taken from it by the artillery, and is now in Paris, in the museum of works of art connected with that department. By five o'clock on the morning of the 5th, the whole army had passed.

The archduke Charles at this time was in position with one hundred and forty thousand men, with his centre at Wagram, which is about five miles from the river, his left at the village of Margraff-Neusidel, and his right in the direction of Aderklaa. The archduke John was at Presburg, twenty-five miles distant, with thirty-six thousand troops, and Napoleon determined to commence the attack before he could arrive. He accordingly marshalled his army in array of battle on the left bank of the river. In the first line, Massena,

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with four divisions—Molitor's, Boudet's, Legrand's, and Cara St. Cyr's—formed the left; Bernadotte's Saxons, and Oudinot, were in the centre; and Davoust with three divisions—Friant's, Gudin's, and Morand's—constituted the right. The second line consisted of Eugene with his four divisions on the left, and Marmont with his two divisions on the right; and the foot-guards, in six regiments, in reserve: in the third line came the cavalry.

Napoleon's plan of attack contemplated the turning of the Austrian left wing at Neusidel, so as to throw Prince Charles off from communication with Prince John. His own right, under Davoust, was therefore thrown forward, and the whole army advanced over the great plain of Marchfield toward the archduke, who occupied the elevated plateau between Wagram and Neusidel. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the French army came in sight of the Austrian lines, which were stationed in a very advantageous position, which had long before been selected by the Austrian council as the field of battle. The French left and centre took up their positions for the next day, but the centre was the scene of a spirited engagement. The emperor perceiving the importance of the elevated ground on which the enemy were posted, ordered Oudinot to commence an attack upon it at once, and directed a division of Eugene's corps to advance to his support. It was intended that the two columns should attack simultaneously; but Oudinot, being nearer, ascended first. No sooner had his division surmounted the crest of the plateau, than it encountered a tremendous fire of artillery, which compelled it to retire in confusion; the cavalry, however, advanced to cover it, and the soldiers

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speedily resumed their ranks. The other division then scaled the elevation, but a similar fate awaited it: it was charged, broken, and driven back upon the artillery, and lost one of its eagles. Napoleon would not allow the effort to be renewed, but ordered that hostilities should cease, in order that the army might repose before the toils of the coming day. He established his bivouac in the midst of the old guard, who were advanced to the first line, and, sending for the different marshals, passed a great part of the night in conferring with them upon the events likely to occur on the morrow. Massena's corps, on the extreme left, was still at Essling, considerably in the rear, and it was ordered to come into line with the other troops, so as to be ready to fall upon the enemy's centre, as soon as Davoust had turned their left wing. Massena, on the 3d, while superintending some works on the island in company with the emperor, had been severely bruised by a fall from his horse, which obliged him on the field of battle to appear in a calêche. The emperor desired to relieve him from command, but he entreated that he might be permitted to take his post in the battle. The emperor, however, foreseeing that on so busy a day the marshal could not move in a carriage to every point where a horse could carry him, sent his own aide-de-camp, General Reille, who had formerly been the marshal's aide, to attend him, in order that he might have a confidential officer near him. When Napoleon saw him the next day, in the midst of the contest, though suffering from pain, he exclaimed, "Who ought to fear death, when he sees how the brave are prepared to meet it?"

At four o'clock on the morning of the 6th of July,

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1809, the French troops were ordered to arms. The enemy began the attack: their design corresponded in some respects with that of Napoleon; that is to say, their greatest accumulation of troops was on their right, and their object was to turn the French, and throw the army toward the direction from which Prince John was expected. To conceal their plan, however, the battle was opened with a very vigorous attack upon Davoust, which convinced the emperor that they were about to exert all their force in preserving their communication with the archduke John on their extreme left; and he ordered Davoust to drive them back without loss of time, while he advanced in person to his support with the whole guard, horse, foot, and artillery. He had scarcely arrived, when the movements of the Austrian army indicated that they were manœuvring in the opposite direction, toward their right, and were withdrawing from their first attack by their left. While he halted to observe their operations, Reille arrived from Massena with intelligence of the most fatal disasters in that part of the field; and Napoleon, now satisfied that the real attack was upon the left, gave orders to Davoust to attack with redoubled energy and to carry Neusidel; and he marched the whole guard, preceded by its artillery, laterally across the field of battle, to the extreme left. Massena's corps was in a state of complete dissolution; and of the four divisions which composed it, not a single united body was to be seen. That marshal, in executing Napoleon's orders to advance the left and strike at the enemy's centre, had sent forward the division of Cara St. Cyr to attack the village. A regiment of light infantry at the head of this column charged with such impetuosity as to carry the village;

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but instead of remaining under the shelter of the town, they advanced to the edge of it, where a dreadful fire was opened upon it, and it was charged in its turn before it could recover its position. It was driven back in confusion, and drew after it the rest of the division, which consisted of allied troops. The disorder extended to the divisions of Legrand and Boudet, which were routed by the advancing masses of the Austrians, with the loss of their artillery ; and the enemy having turned, or rather displaced the left wing, advanced so far, that it became necessary to open the batteries on the island of Lobau upon them, to check their progress toward the bridge.

The enemy now surrounded the centre on two sides, so that it stood like a wedge in the midst of the Austrians, and received a fire from two sides. To this point Napoleon now rode, and surveyed the appalling scene upon the left. But his confidence in the effect of Davoust's advance, and in the ultimate success of the day, was unshaken, and his coolness remained undisturbed. He dismounted from his horse and got into the carriage of Massena for a few minutes, and explained to him that the position of the centre was to be maintained until Davoust had turned their left, and that an advance after that would certainly win the field. To inspire calmness and courage during the trying moments that elapsed, he then mounted his snow-white charger, a gift from the shah of Persia, and rode deliberately from one extremity of the line to the other, and returned at the same slow pace. Shots were flying about him in every direction, and his aides expected momently to see him drop from his horse. An hour passed on : Napoleon frequently inquired whether the firing about

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Neusidel was in front or in rear of that village. At length, it was seen that Davoust had prevailed, and that the enemy's left was turned and driven back; and Napoleon at once gave orders that the whole line of the army should form in columns of attack, and advance. Oudinot and Bernadotte, supported by Marmont and Eugene, were ordered to attack Wagram; Bessieres, with the cavalry, was ordered to wheel round and charge the troops who had advanced so far on the left; orders were sent to Massena, whose corps was now re-formed between Aspern and Essling, to commence the attack upon that wing in front; and Napoleon himself organized a powerful body against the enemy's centre—a movement upon which he counted as likely to be decisive of the day. Eighty pieces of artillery of the guard, under his aide-de-camp, General Lauriston, were formed into one compact battery, and placed in front; immediately after, on the left, came the division of the young guard, under General Reille, and on the right, Marshal Macdonald, with two divisions of Eugene's corps; these were followed by the cavalry of the guard, the emperor retaining near his own person only the regiment of horse-grenadiers. This terrible column advanced in dauntless and irresistible array against the centre: the artillery, which consisted entirely of twelve and eight pounders, served by picked men, made the most fearful ravages; Reille's troops moved upon Aderklaa; and Macdonald, marching in person at the head of his divisions, led them on in solid column at a slow pace, up to the very lines of the enemy, amid a shower of balls and grape-shot, without their falling into the least disorder. Nothing could resist such intrepidity and such force. The enemy's centre was

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pierced and separated: about half-past two, his right had retreated, and, by four o'clock, a general retreat of the whole line was ordered.

The victory of Napoleon was now unquestionable; but owing to a disaster by which the cavalry were deprived of their leader, the triumph was without the usual trophies. Napoleon's order had been, that as soon as the centre was penetrated, the cavalry under Bessieres should charge the Austrian right wing in flank. That marshal had scarcely started to execute this direction, when he was struck from his horse by a cannon-shot, and carried insensible from the field. Orders were given to other officers to lead on the horse, but the charges were feeble and ineffective. At a later period the cavalry of the guard, which followed Macdonald, was ordered to charge after the opening had been made in the Austrian line, by which it was thought that a fourth part of the army might have been surrounded and taken; but from mistake or otherwise, that order was not carried into effect, and that immense and splendid cavalry did not take a single man. The emperor was greatly displeased with the cavalry, and said on the field of battle, "It never served me in this manner before; it will be the cause that this battle is without any result."—"We much regretted," says Savary, "the absence of the grand-duke of Berg; he was the very man we wanted at so critical a moment." The Austrians retired during the whole night toward Znaim, but without losing either cannon or prisoners. The French followed at a respectful distance; for the retreating army, which had not been broken, but preserved its integrity, was altogether too formidable to be rashly provoked. The emperor slept on the field of battle in

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the midst of his soldiers. Marmont and Massena came up with the enemy at Znaim on the 11th, and a spirited engagement was beginning, when a flag proposing an armistice arrived from the archduke. It was accepted by Napoleon on the 12th after consideration, and ratified by the emperor Francis, not without much hesitation, on the 18th. Napoleon re-established his headquarters at Schöenbrunn, and proceeded to review the various corps in their several cantonments; that of Davoust was reviewed on the field of Austerlitz. Negotiations proceeded languidly, but at length, on the 14th of October, 1809, the treaty of Vienna was signed; and Napoleon, having ordered the ramparts of Vienna to be blown up on the 19th, set out for Paris, where he arrived on the 26th.

It is rarely that any man has it in his power to render such services to a sovereign and a nation as Massena performed for France and Napoleon at Aspern and at Wagram; and the gratitude of the emperor was proportionate. In 1810, Massena was created prince of Essling, and various other evidences of favor were showered upon him. In the same year, the jealousies and collisions between the marshals commanding in Spain, especially between Ney and Soult, had risen to such a height, that the emperor determined to intrust the invasion of Portugal to a general whose superior rank in the state, and great fame in war, would induce a readier submission than Soult was able to command. He accordingly chose the prince of Essling. But the health of the veteran was severely and incurably overthrown. He was suffering from the lassitude of disease during the whole of this campaign, and unable to dis-

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play the former energy of his character. In judging of the greatness of Massena, his military career ought to be considered as terminating at the battle of Wagram.

The prince of Essling arrived in camp on the 27th of June, and took command of the army of Portugal, consisting of the second, sixth, and eighth corps, and a reserve of cavalry. This force was then engaged under Ney in the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo: Massena immediately summoned it, and, on the 10th of July, it was carried by storm. Almeida was invested on the 15th of July, and surrendered on the 28th. Napoleon then sent orders to Massena to make these places the base of his operations, and to advance upon Lisbon in the beginning of September. Accordingly, on the 16th of that month, Massena, at the head of Ney's, Junot's, and Regnier's corps, amounting to nearly eighty thousand men, crossed the Mondego; and Wellesley began that immortal retreat to Torres Vedras which will ever invest his name with a glory beyond the blaze of a thousand victories. On the 27th, Massena found his opponent posted in an almost impregnable position at Busaco; and instead of turning the position, as he might easily have done, he attacked him, yet with much delay and languor, and was defeated: he then turned it by the English left. The army continued to advance, and on the 11th of October, Massena found his progress arrested and his army defied by the stupendous lines of Torres Vedras, one of the most splendid conceptions of military genius, and one of the mightiest achievements of skill and valor. Astonished and perplexed, the French commander spent some days in examining these wonderful barriers, and satisfied himself that it

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was idle to attack them until he was reinforced. Yet, with a pertinacity which, separated from daring, was worse than useless, he maintained his starving army at Santarem during the whole time, until the suffering and discontent of his troops, and the manifest impracticability of carrying the position in which Wellington had fortified himself, compelled him to retreat. On the 5th of March, his army was in full retreat for the points from which it had set out. Wellington, as soon as this movement was completely developed, was thundering in his rear; and Massena now displayed abilities and resources scarcely inferior to those by which his antagonist had baffled him. At Pombal, at Redenha, at Casal Nova, on the banks of the Ceisa, and at Subugal, a series of vigorous combats protected the retiring troops from the earnest pursuit of the English; and, on the 5th of April, Massena recrossed the boundary of Portugal—having lost about thirty thousand men, from the time that he entered that kingdom in the September before. He passed through Ciudad Rodrigo, and occupied Salamanca a few days after. On the 5th of May, the bloody but undecisive battle of Fuentes d'Onoro was fought. On the 10th, he retired across the Agueda; and, soon after, was recalled to France, on the ground of his defective health, and Marmont assumed the command of the army of Portugal. Massena retired to his native country of Nice; and was too much enfeebled to take any part in the campaign of Russia or of Saxony, in 1812 and 1813.

That the shattered health of Massena, during his Portugal campaign, was the cause of his inferiority to his former reputation, we have the express authority of Napoleon. "Massena, Napoleon observed, on a

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former occasion," says O'Meara, "had lost himself in the campaign of Portugal; which, however, he attributed to the bad state of his health, that did not permit him to sit on horseback, or inspect, himself, what was going on. A general who sees with the eyes of others," he added, "will never be able to command an army as it should be. Massena was then so ill, that he was obliged to trust to the reports of others, and consequently failed in some of his undertakings. At Busaco, for example, he attempted to carry a position almost impregnable in the manner he attacked it; whereas, if he had commenced by turning it, he would have succeeded. This was owing to his not being able to reconnoitre personally." He added: "If Massena had been what he was formerly, he would have followed Wellington so closely as to be able to attack him, while entering the lines before Lisbon, before he could have taken up his position properly."

After the battle of Leipsig, Napoleon found Massena in Paris; and fearing his intrigues with the republicans, to whom he was always inclined, he sent him to Toulon, to command the eighth military division. On the 20th of April, 1814, the restoration being fully pronounced, he raised the white cockade, and proclaimed Louis XVIII. with great pomp. He was confirmed, by the new dynasty, in all his command, and was made a chevalier and commander of the order of St. Louis, and was naturalized as a Frenchman, by the king and the chamber of peers. On the arrival of Napoleon, in March, 1815, Massena's conduct was undecided and ambiguous. He gave no countenance to the invader, and professed to adhere to the Bourbons, but he took no measures to sustain the govern-

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ment, and prevented others from taking any. In the middle of April we find him acting cordially in the service of the emperor. After Waterloo, the provisional government appointed him, on the 23d of June, commander-in-chief of the national guard; and he rendered important service in maintaining the peace of the capital. Upon the second return of the king, the veteran soldier was not disquieted. His career was near its close. Fascinated, in the decline of life, by the exhausting pleasures of the capital, for which the privations of his earlier days had created in him an unnatural relish, he abandoned himself to a dissipation which terminated his life ingloriously, on the 4th of April, 1817. His funeral was celebrated with much pomp, and a eulogy pronounced by General Thiebault, in the presence of all the military characters of the lines.

The character of Massena was stained by imputations of rapacity and meanness. The reproaches and complaints, in respect to robbing and violence, which attended his career from its commencement to its close, could not well be without a foundation in justice. Even as late as February, 1816, the inhabitants near the mouth of the Rhone denounced, to the chamber of deputies, his conduct, while presiding over them, on the 20th of March, 1815: "Hold up to the hatred of France, the contempt of Europe, and the disgust of posterity," they said, "the governor of the eighth military division: he was not born upon the soil of France, and he has shown that he was unworthy to open his eyes to the light in that country. His rapines have obtained a shameful celebrity for him." No public prosecution, however, followed this energetic denun-

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ciation. Massena published a defence; and a reply to it appeared, entitled, "A Letter to Marshal Massena, by a Marselleise," which was attributed to the mayor of Marseilles. Napoleon seems to have been well aware of these vices of the character of his marshal. "He was," said the emperor, "*un voleur*. He went halves along with the contractors and commissaries of the army. I signified to him, often, that if he would discontinue his peculations, I would make him a present of eight hundred thousand or a million of francs; but he had acquired such a habit, that he could not keep his hands from money. Massena, Augereau, Brune, and many others," he said, "were merely intrepid depredators. Massena was, moreover, distinguished for the most sordid avarice. It was asserted that I played him a trick, which might have proved a hanging matter,—that, being indignant at his depredations, I one day drew on his banker for two or three millions. Great embarrassment ensued; for my name was not without its due weight. The banker wrote to intimate that he could not pay the sum without the authority of Massena. On the other hand, he was urged to pay it without hesitation, as Massena, if he were wronged, could appeal to the court of law for justice. Massena, however, resorted to no legal steps, and consoled himself as well as he could for the payment of the money." Yet, some anecdotes are told, which indicate that, if he acquired his wealth by unscrupulous means, he was sometimes sensible to noble and true feelings in the uses which he made of it. On one occasion, when he was at the summit of his fortunes, a man who had once been, like himself, a non-commissioned officer in the royal Italian regiment, but

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who had adopted different principles, and followed a different career, presented himself to Massena in a state of deplorable wretchedness: "I am Barbieri!" he exclaimed, "your old comrade." The marshal threw himself into his arms, supplied him with money and clothing, presented him to his wife, and insisted on his sharing his dwelling and his table. Barbieri thus passed five years in happy abundance; and was only separated by death from the bounty of his more fortunate companion.

In point of military ability—to put together the detached remarks which Napoleon made respecting him—Massena was a man of superior talents; but, by a strange peculiarity of temperament, he possessed the desired equilibrium between judgment and physical courage only in the heat of battle: it was created in the midst of perils. His conversation was uninteresting. He generally made very indifferent dispositions previously to an engagement, and it was not until the dead began to fall about him, that he began to act with that judgment which he ought to have displayed before. On the report of the first cannon, his ideas acquired strength and clearness; and, in the midst of the dying and the dead, of balls sweeping away those who encircled him, Massena became himself: then he gave his orders, and made his dispositions, with the greatest *sang froid* and judgment. "This is," said the emperor, "*la vera nobilta di sangue.*" It was truly said of Massena, that he never began to act with judgment until the battle was going against him. He was resolute, brave, and intrepid; full of ambition and pride; endowed with extraordinary courage and firmness, which seemed to increase in time of difficulty. His distin-

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guishing characteristic was obstinacy: he was never discouraged; if defeated, he began again as if he had been victorious. He was of a hardy constitution, and of indefatigable exertion; amid rocks and mountains, the warfare peculiar to which he was particularly acquainted with, he would spend night and day on horseback. He neglected discipline, and took little care of the affairs of the army; for which reasons, as well as on account of his habits of peculation, he was hated by the soldiers, who mutinied against him three or four times. The high opinion entertained of him, in his last days, by Napoleon, may be seen in the answer made by him to Dr. O'Meara's question, in 1817, who was, at that time, the first of the French generals. "It is difficult to say," was the emperor's reply. "Massena was; but, you may say that he is dead. He has a complaint in his breast, which has rendered him quite another kind of man." Notwithstanding the odious weaknesses by which he was marked, Napoleon held him in great respect. He concluded a recital of some of his faults, by saying: "However, considering the circumstances of the times, he was precious; and, had not his bright parts been soiled with the vice of avarice, he would have been a great man."

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MURAT.

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JOACHIM MURAT.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, MAY 19TH, 1804.

GRAND-DUKE OF CLEVES AND OF BERG: KING OF NAPLES.

JOACHIM MURAT was born on the 25th of March, 1767, at *La Bastide-Fortunière*, near Cahors, where his father, Pierre Murat Jordy, was a reputable innkeeper. The youth was sent at an early age to Toulouse to receive an ecclesiastical education; but the wildness and dissipation of his character prevented his making much progress, and he soon returned home. For a time, he acted as an assistant to his father in attending upon his guests; but in 1787, enlisted in the chasseurs of Ardennes. Some misconduct, however, soon rendered it convenient for him to desert: he went up to Paris, and there was reduced to such extremity, that he is said to have hired himself as a waiter at a restaurant. His father soon interposed for his relief, and he was admitted into the constitutional guard of Louis XVI. The speedy dissolution of this corps set him again at liberty; and he obtained, in 1792, a sub-lieutenancy in the eleventh regiment of chasseurs. Filled with the passions and hopes of the revolution, he became one of the most devoted followers of Marat; and through the favor of the Jacobin, he rose rapidly to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the twenty-first. So devoted

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was he to the great terrorist, that, at the time of his death, he wrote from Abbeville, where he was in garrison, to the Jacobin club at Paris, announcing his desire to change his name from Murat to Marat. The subsequent unpopularity of the Jacobins proved injurious to the fortunes of the young soldier, and he found himself in the capital without employment and without means.

The first occasion on which the name of MURAT appears in connexion with the chief with whose military glory he was afterward so long and so brilliantly associated, and with whose family he became so honorably allied, is on the morning of the eventful 13th of Vendemiare (October 4th, 1795). It was about one o'clock in the morning, when Napoleon, who had just accepted the command from the directory, despatched the lieutenant-colonel of the twenty-first chasseurs, with three hundred horse, to the Sablons, to bring off the artillery of forty pieces which were parked at that place. He arrived there at three, just as the head of the column from the rebellious sections was reaching the same spot: the latter made no attempt to contest the guns, and by five in the morning they were safe in the Tuileries. When Napoleon took the command of the army of Italy, in May, 1806, he appointed Murat his principal aide-de-camp, with the rank of colonel in the cavalry. At the battle of Mondovi, after the redoubt was taken, Murat made a successful charge with the twentieth regiment of dragoons; and when General Stengel, who had pursued the enemy too far, was killed, Murat rallied the squadrons, put himself at the head of three regiments of cavalry, again repulsed the Piedmontese horse, and pursued them several hours. After the ar-

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mistice of Cherasco, he was despatched by Napoleon to Paris, to bear the intelligence and to present twenty-one stands of colors: as he travelled by Mont Cenis, he arrived before Junot, who had been sent from Millesimo by the Nice road; and being the first authentic messenger from the hero of Montenotte, and bearing such brilliant trophies, he was greeted with the most lively enthusiasm. The directory conferred the rank of brigadier-general upon him; but upon his return to Italy, he still continued to be the aide-de-camp of Napoleon. He distinguished himself at the passage of the Mincio, on the 30th of May: "General Murat," says Napoleon in his memoirs, "charged the enemy's cavalry, and obtained an important success: it was the first time that the French cavalry, on account of its bad condition, had measured its strength with the Austrian cavalry: from that time, the French cavalry emulated the infantry." In June, 1796, when Napoleon made a tour through the south of Italy, to arrange its political affairs, Murat was intrusted with the establishment of French influence in Genoa and Leghorn. Sometime after, he fell into some disfavor with the general-in-chief, and was placed, first in Reille's division, and afterward in Baraguay d'Hilliers's: yet his conduct continued to receive the approbation of Napoleon, who speaks of his valor at Rivoli, the Tagliamento, and other places, with applause. In the expedition to Egypt, Murat was attached to the engineer corps; and his splendid bravery and skill at Aboukir, is the first flowing and stainless feather in that towering plume of knightly grandeur which renders his character so far-glittering and impressive. "Murat," said Napoleon, "was superb at Aboukir." On the return to France, a yet more valu-

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able benefit was rendered, when, on the celebrated 19th of Brumaire, at a signal given by Napoleon at the proper moment, Murat, at the head of his grenadiers, rushed into the hall of the five hundred, drove out the representatives, and seated the general of Egypt upon the consular throne. On the 20th of January, 1800, Murat was married to Caroline, the sister of Napoleon, and thus elevated to those hopes which proved his glory and his ruin. He first became acquainted with this lady at Rome, in 1796, at the residence of her brother Joseph, who was the embassador of the republic at the Holy See. Afterward, at Milan, a close intimacy sprung up between them; and though the son of the princess of Santa Cruce was a rival for her hand, it is not surprising that the brilliant and gallant aide-de-camp proved more acceptable to the imagination and heart of a Bonaparte. Murat's appearance and bearing, as described by one who knew him at this time, were well adapted to dazzle and gratify female interest. His noble and well-proportioned figure, his great physical strength, the fire of his glance, the somewhat refined elegance of his manners, added to the prestige of the fiercest courage in battle, gave him the character of one of those preux chevaliers described in Ariosto, rather than that of a republican soldier. Affable, polished, and gallant, the majesty of his look caused the lowness of his origin to be forgotten.

Murat's glories thenceforth were brilliant and abounding. As general of division, he served with lustre in the campaign of Marengo: in 1802, he was made governor of the Cisalpine republic; and in 1804, he was created a marshal of the empire, and appointed commander of the national guard of Paris. The campaign

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of Austerlitz, in the following year, presents him in the fullest pride of military glory and merit: prince of the empire, high-admiral, grand eagle of the legion of honor, and grand dignitary of the order of the iron crown, he acted as lieutenant-general of the most splendid and effective army that ever went forth to execute the purposes of ambition; and as commander-in-chief of all the reserve cavalry, the brilliance of his personal achievements about Ulm and at Austerlitz sustained and brightened the official dignity with which he was invested. He was proclaimed grand-duke of Cleves and Berg in 1806; and the campaign of Prussia in that year, and of Poland in the following year, still more nobly displayed his matchless greatness as a commander of cavalry. In 1808, he was appointed general-in-chief of the army of Spain; and at Madrid, his rashness accomplished the results which, perhaps, the selection of such an agent was intended to bring about. On the 15th of July, 1808, upon the transfer of Joseph to Spain, Murat was made king of Naples, under the name of Joachim Napoleon. He governed this country well upon the whole, and the condition of the people under his administration is admitted to have been better than before or since. This is the culminating point of his fortunes and of his merit, and we may pause for a moment to contemplate the personal qualities of the low-born soldier who had achieved so splendid an advancement.

Murat's striking appearance, set off by the most extraordinary costume that was ever worn by a sane man in public, contributed not a little to the reputation which he obtained among the common people, and made him the hero of vulgar minds. Of erect and

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commanding stature, a majestic countenance, fine blue eyes, large whiskers, and dark curling hair, flowing down in long ringlets over the collar of his dress, he seemed to realize the image of a barbarian king. His dress, borrowed from all ages and countries, and combined in a strange contrast neither effective nor tasteful, could not be called theatrical; it resembled the most bizarre exhibitions of the circus. So absurd and fantastic, indeed, were his accoutrements, that the public called him King Franconi. The Baron Von Odeleben, has furnished a description of the odd jumble of styles out of which this costume was made up. His coat consisted of a Polish dress, the collar of which was richly embroidered with gold, and the sleeves were open below the shoulder; it was confined with a golden belt, to which was suspended a light sword, with a straight, narrow blade, of the ancient Roman fashion, without hilt or guard, the handle of which was beautifully wrought and ornamented with brilliants. Under this coat, were full pantaloons of a purple or blood color, with the seams trimmed with gold; and, his boots were of nankeen or yellow leather. Over the whole, he wore in cold weather, a superb velvet pelisse of a deep green color, trimmed with sables. The famous snow-white plume, which towered to an immense height above the ranks, was composed of four large ostrich feathers, diverging at right angles, from the centre of which sprang a magnificent heron's plume: this splendid ornament arose out of a huge cocked hat, having a broad gold border, and edged with white ostrich feathers. The trappings of his horse were in the Hungarian or Turkish fashion: the animal was covered with a trailing blue or purple housing,

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richly embroidered with gold; and fine gilt stirrups, and a magnificent bridle completed the show. The livery of his equeries, pages, and servants, was sometimes of a deep red, or more frequently of a sky blue, which seemed to be his favorite color. It must be owned, says the baron, that this mixture of Swedish, Spanish, Roman, Turkish, and Neapolitan fashions, notwithstanding all its splendor, exhibited no taste. The contrast between this glittering display, of material and outward magnificence, and the small and insignificant stature of Napoleon, plainly attired in a gray surtout, with a little three-cornered hat, served to amuse the careless observer, but could not fail deeply to interest the spectator, who considered the difference in the real greatness of the men, and reflected on the incommensurable superiority of intellectual to physical advantages.

Murat's far-resplendent figure often made him a mark for the enemy's guns, or an object for the attacks of their cavalry. During an affair which took place before the battle of Leipsig, when a detachment were recovering some positions into which the enemy had intruded, Murat, accompanied by a small escort, exposed his person in such a manner, that a squadron of the enemy, recognising him by his splendid appearance, gave him chase. The officer who led it, eagerly pursued the king, who found himself in the rear of his escort, accompanied by a single horseman; and, hoping to make him a prisoner, several times called out, "Stop, king, stop!" Murat's attendant turned and cut the officer through with his sabre and killed him: Murat made him his equery on the spot, and Napoleon gave him the decoration of the legion of honor. Some

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days after, when the army was retreating from Leipsig, Napoleon and his staff, with Murat, repaired to the right bank of the Unsturtt, to superintend the passage, and check the disorder. The odd suite and singular dress of the king of Naples became a mark for the enemy's tirailleurs and artillery men; and bullets, cannon-balls, and shells, began to fly around. "They are firing on the suite," said Caulaincourt to Napoleon, who, at the moment, was looking through his little telescope. "Do you think so?" replied the latter, very calmly turning aside his horse; and the picquet of the guard, as well as the emperor's suite, were obliged to disperse.

As a general of cavalry, at the head of twenty or forty squadrons of horse, and under the eye of Napoleon, Murat undoubtedly appeared to very great advantage. His penetrating glance, and his practical sagacity, in judging of the most effective manner and time of delivering the shock of his column, enabled him to operate with astonishing effect; and his warlike visage and stout form, his noble and firm demeanor, on fine, vigorous chargers, his intrepidity, which grew calmer and more indifferent as dangers multiplied around him, inspired the troops with a confidence and force that rendered their onset irresistible. In such scenes, his good temper never forsook him: in the midst of the most serious engagements, he had a jest always ready. His hearty tone, and frank cheerful gayety, took from the contest the ferocity of war; his ever-serene deportment, sometimes degenerated into a sort of insensibility in danger. "Never," says Colonel Macerone, "even in his most trying circumstances, was his countenance divested of that placid smile which

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was one of its remarkable features." The zeal, precision, and thoroughness, with which he executed the commissions of the emperor, rendered him very acceptable to that commander.

ADVANCE TO MOSCOW.

On the 9th of May, 1812, Napoleon quitted his palace for the Russian campaign; he was destined, says the Count de Segur, never again to enter it victorious. As far as Dresden his progress was a triumphal march; and his state, while residing in that city, was truly imperial. He had expressed a wish to the emperor of Austria, a number of kings, and a crowd of princes, that they should meet him at this place on his way; and, if his desire was to enjoy the degradation of royalty, his passion was fully gratified. Sovereigns were mingled with his generals at his levees, and crowned heads solicited interviews with him: he was a feudal lord, whose serfs were the monarchs of Europe. Wearied with the homage, he left Dresden, on the 29th of May, and passed through Posen, Thorn, Marienburg, Dantzig, Konigsberg, Gumbinnen to the Niemen, near Kovno, which he reached on the 23d of June. The host which had been assembled to assail the colossal power of the czar, consisted of three great divisions, which were to operate in different directions; the left, consisting of thirty-two thousand five hundred Prussians, Bavarians, and Poles, was at Tilsit, under Macdonald, and was to advance along the Baltic, and threaten Revel, Riga, and even St. Petersburgh; the right, composed of thirty-four thousand Austrians, under Prince Schwartzenberg, were to march from Gallicia;

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and, between these, the grand army was to cross the Niemen, and march upon Wilna. The grand army itself, in its march to this river, consisted of three separate masses: eighty thousand Westphalians, Saxons, and Poles, under the king of Westphalia, advanced from Warsaw, upon Grodno; an equal number, consisting of French, Italians, and Bavarians, under the viceroy Eugene, approached Pilony; while the emperor himself, at the head of a splendid host, of two hundred and twenty thousand men, and attended by his most brilliant marshals, now glittering with the splendors of ducal, princely, or royal state, moved upon Kovno. At two o'clock in the morning of the 23d of June, 1812, the emperor, who had travelled in a carriage till that time, mounted his horse; he reconnoitred the river, and passed it under cover of night; as he came up to the bank, his horse stumbled and threw him on the sand. A voice was heard to say, "This is a bad omen; a Roman would recoil;" whether it proceeded from, himself, or from one of his attendants, is not known. He immediately ordered the construction of three bridges; and on the following day, this magnificent army began to defile, in three columns, across the fatal stream, which so few were ever to repass. The passage occupied three entire days: on the 29th, the viceroy passed at Pilony, and the king of Westphalia at Grodno, on the 30th. Meanwhile, the forces of Alexander, amounting in all to three hundred thousand men, were divided into three armies, one, called the first western army, which was now at Wilna, under Barclay de Tolly, the Russian minister of war, the extreme right being under Wittgenstein; another, called the second western army, under Bagration, near Lida;

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the third, called the army of reserve, which was under Tormasof, and further to the south. The plan of Napoleon, in dividing his army as has been described, was, to occupy Tormasof on the south, and Wittgenstein on the north, by the attacks of Prince Schwartzenberg, and Macdonald, respectively, while the viceroy pierced between Bagration and Barclay, the king of Westphalia fell upon the former, and he, himself, with the main army, attacked Barclay at Wilna. The plan, however, laid down by Alexander and his minister, was to retire in all directions, as the French advanced, and these orders were executed, by his generals, with far more promptness and skill than the forward movements of the French commanders. Jerome, aided by Davoust's corps, which was detached from the main body, marched against Bagration; but that able general fell back to Bobrinsk, on the Berezina, thence through Minsk and Witepsk, and, after a spirited engagement at Mohilof, on the 23d of July, joined Barclay at Smolensk, on the 3d of August. On the right, Barclay, accompanied by the emperor Alexander, retired from Wilna, on the 28th of June, to an entrenched camp which had been constructed on the Dwina; he evacuated this on the 14th of July, and retired along the Dwina to Witepsk, and thence, suddenly eluding the French pursuit, moved upon Smolensk where he was joined by Bagration. On the 28th, Napoleon entered Wilna; having sent Ney and Oudinot to drive back Barclay's extreme right, under Wittgenstein, and Murat, with his cavalry, to pursue the main body, under Alexander. These advanced to the Dwina, Murat, with the advanced guard, every evening coming up with the Russian rearguard, and every morning finding that it had

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escaped him. Napoleon, himself, remained at Wilna until the 16th of July, organizing the government of Lithuania, and despatching the mass of affairs which now pressed upon him; he thence sent forward all the corps of the army, under himself, with directions to concentrate before Witepsk. These orders were executed with great precision; the whole of the main body of the army, on the 27th, united before that place in presence of Barclay, who with a large force, in a strong position, seemed determined at last to meet the invaders in the field. An engagement immediately began, but Napoleon, satisfied that a decisive contest was now certain, ordered the attack to cease, in order that deliberate preparations might be made for the next day. He, accordingly, announced a battle for the following day. His parting words to Murat, were, "To-morrow, at five o'clock, the sun of Austerlitz." Murat, who had daily been deluded by a similar expectation, remarked to the emperor, that Barclay made a demonstration of boldness by day, only, that he might retire more safely during the night. Unable to satisfy Napoleon of this, he exhibited his own confidence in his opinion by posting his tent on the banks of the Luczissa, almost in the midst of the enemy. By daybreak, on the 28th, he sent word to Napoleon that he was about to pursue the Russians, who had already disappeared: the emperor commanded him to observe great caution, for the enemy's whole army was certainly in front of him. He then mounted his horse, and rode toward Barclay's camp, which was found deserted: in fact, that general, receiving intelligence during the night of Bagration's retreat to Smolensk, had quietly withdrawn in the same direction. A Russian soldier, who

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was surprised asleep under a bush, was the solitary result of a day expected by Napoleon to be so decisive. Witepsk was found equally deserted: the roads were reconnoitred, but no trace of the Russian army was to be found. The French advanced six leagues over a deep sand and through a suffocating heat: the emperor, in the evening, held a council in his tent, consisting of Murat, Eugene, and Berthier, and it was decided that a further pursuit was then unadvisable. He then returned, with his guard, to Witepsk, and as he entered the imperial headquarters at that place, on the evening of the 28th, he threw his sword abruptly down on the maps with which his tables were covered, and exclaimed, "Here I stop! here I must look around me, rally and refresh my army, and organize Poland: the campaign of 1812 is finished; that of 1813 will do the rest."

Such was the judicious view, which, at this time, Napoleon took in respect to this great expedition. Murat, impatient of repose and covetous of excitement and glory, quitted the advanced guard, went to Witepsk, and sought a private interview with the emperor, for the purpose of stimulating him to further daring. He accused the Russians of cowardice, and represented them as a panic-struck army which his light cavalry alone could put to flight. "Murat," replied Napoleon, "the first campaign in Russia is finished; let us here plant our eagles: two great rivers mark our position; let us raise block-houses on that line; let our fires cross each other in all directions: let us form in square battalion; cannons at the angles and exterior; our quarters and magazines in the interior: 1813 will see us in Moscow; 1814 in St. Petersburgh. The

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Russian war is a war of three years." Such was the sagacious perception of the emperor, and such the first conclusion of his judgment: happily had it been for him, says the Count de Segur, "if he had not afterward mistaken the movements of his impatience for the inspirations of genius." Soon, however, the political difficulties that surrounded him began to render him deeply uneasy: his restless character, and that fervid enthusiasm that ever kindled as it came near the objects of its passion, combined to agitate and distract his mind. The idea of Moscow so near, so easy of conquest, so full of glory, stung his ambitious spirit. The condition of the emperor, as described by one of his attendants, while the lusts of a morbid ambition were goading and inflaming a perplexed understanding, might furnish a study for the genius of Shakspere. The state of irresolution which tormented his mind, affected his whole frame. He was observed to wander about his apartments, as if pursued by some dangerous temptation: nothing could rivet his attention; he every moment began, quitted, and resumed his labor: he walked about without any object; inquired the hour and looked at his watch: completely absorbed, he stopped, hummed a tune with an absent air, and again began walking about. In the midst of his perplexity, he occasionally addressed the persons whom he met with such half sentences as, "Well, what shall we do? Shall we stay where we are, or advance? How is it possible to stop short in the midst of so glorious a career?" He did not wait for a reply, but still kept wandering about as if he was looking for something or somebody to terminate his indecision. At length, quite overwhelmed with the weight of so important a consider-

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ation, he would throw himself on one of the beds which he had caused to be laid on the floor of his apartments. But when his body was at rest, his spirit was only more active. The reasons impelling him to advance, and finish the campaign by a brilliant stroke, presented themselves to him with irresistible force. Having at last determined, he hastily arises, as if not to allow time to his reflections to renew so painful a state of uncertainty, and already filled with the plan which was to secure his conquest, he hastens to his maps, which present to his view the cities of Smolensk and Moscow; "the great Moscow, the holy city," names which he repeated with satisfaction. Fired with this prospect, his spirit, replete with the energy of his great conception, appears to be possessed by the genius of war. His voice deepens; his eye flashes; and his countenance grows dark with thought and resolution. His attendants retreat from his presence, struck with mingled awe and respect: but, at length, his plan is fixed, his determination taken, his order of march traced out. Instantly, the internal struggle by which he had been agitated subsided; and, no sooner was he delivered of his terrible conception, than his countenance resumed its usual composed and tranquil character.

Such is the striking picture which the faithful historian of this campaign has left to posterity. With one exception, all his generals whom the emperor consulted at this time, were opposed to further advance; Murat, alone, encouraged and urged his master to a step which so well accorded with his own daring and reckless tem per. No time was lost in putting in execution the resolution which had been taken Oudinot, reinforced by St. Cyr's corps, was directed to put himself in com-

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munication with Macdonald: and the rest of the army, one hundred and eighty-five thousand men, was ordered on the 10th of August, to move forward to the Boristhenes, in the direction of Orcha, by which the line of operations was changed from Witepsk to Minsk, and the enemy suddenly taken upon their left flank and rear. By this fine military conception, the design upon Smolensk was concealed, and, while it was approached from the left, the Russian army was put in danger of being cut off from Moscow, and the southern part of the empire. These designs were carried out, and the army assembled on the Dnieper, with Napoleon's usual rapidity. He left Witepsk on the 13th, and in one day reached the Dnieper, which he crossed at Rassasna, and advanced, along its left bank, upon Smolensk. On the 15th, the corps of Ney and Murat, encountered Newerofskoi, at Krasnoi, and, after a valiant resistance, he was driven into Smolensk; and, at an early hour on the following morning, his pursuers came in sight of that ancient city. Ney rashly ordered an assault on the citadel, and having been repulsed, he retired to a height near the river, to survey the scene before him. Perceiving an extraordinary movement of troops on the other side of the river, he ran to bring the emperor to the spot. Napoleon, on reaching the heights, beheld an immense extent of dark columns, glittering with arms, approaching rapidly to the city. It was Barclay and Bagration, with the whole Russian army, one hundred and twenty thousand strong, advancing to throw themselves into Smolensk. The emperor clapped his hands, and exclaimed, "At last I have them!" The army was immediately drawn up for battle; but another disappointment was to be ex-

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perienced. During the night, Barclay sent Bagration with the bulk of the army to Elnia; and at daybreak on the 17th, when Napoleon awoke with the hope of a great battle, nothing was to be seen of the Russians, but a strong rear-guard, under Barclay, retiring from the city. A general assault was then ordered, but the night closed without its success: but scarcely was it dark before thick black columns of smoke, succeeded by bursts of fire, were seen issuing from several distinct points, and soon one vast blaze, whirling and rising over Smolensk, covered the whole city and consumed it with a dismal roaring. Napoleon, seated before his tent, contemplated, in silence, this awful light, the cause of which was as inexplicable as its effect was ominous.

On the following morning the French entered the city, which was found to be deserted and silent. A gloomy terror now occupied the hearts of all the generals. Napoleon's mind grew more resolute in its determination to reach Moscow, but his followers contemplated it with dismay. Even Murat, at first so eager for the enterprise, changeable in his temper as he was impetuous in his feelings, earnestly deprecated so hazardous and laborious an undertaking. Napoleon, however, thought it necessary to dissemble. He spoke of Smolensk as an excellent place for cantonments; and when he sent the army on in pursuit of the retreating Russians, he stated that his object was only to follow them a few marches. He took care, however, to intrust the vanguard to Murat and Ney, the rashest and most excitable of his marshals, and placed the cool and prudent Davoust under the command of the former. Meanwhile, Barclay retired along the road to St. Petersburg for some distance, and then by crossways regained

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the Moscow road at Valoutina. Here, on the 19th, a furious engagement ensued, in which, though the bravery of the French was conspicuous, the Russians succeeded in maintaining themselves till the retreat along the Moscow road was made good. The army advanced to Dorogobouge, and thence on the 26th of August it set out again: Napoleon, Ney, and Davoust, in the centre, with Murat in advance, proceeded along the high-road to Moscow; Poniatowski marched on the right, and the army of Italy on the left. On the 27th, Murat drove the enemy beyond the Osma, and pursued them with great daring through the narrow defile between the banks. At a critical moment, a battery in Davoust's corps refused to fire; and a violent quarrel between these marshals occurred in the presence of the emperor, who, though he respected the character of Davoust, sustained, at present, the dashing system upon which Murat was acting. The advance continued through Wiazma, and in the beginning of September Gjatz was occupied. At last, the Russian army, joined by Milaradowitch and sixteen thousand recruits, had stopped upon the plains of Borodino, and were covering it with entrenchments. The spirit of the country would no longer submit to Barclay's system of perpetual retreat, but called for a trial of strength upon the field; and Kutusoff, a veteran of the Suwarrow school, was placed in command. Napoleon announced a battle to his soldiers, and allowed them two days' rest. On the 4th of September, the army in three divisions, with Murat a few leagues in advance, set out from Gjatz. Ever since Kutusoff had arrived, clouds of Cossacks had been hovering about the heads of the columns, and Murat, irritated at the necessity of constantly deploying his cavalry

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against such enemies, on this day, with an impulse worthy of the days of chivalry, dashed forward suddenly and alone toward their line, and brandishing his sword with a threatening air, commanded them to retire: the grandeur of his appearance, the regal splendor of his dress, and the daring of the action, so astonished and impressed these barbarians, that they fell back in amazement. Between Gjatz and Borodino, the Russian advanced-guard, in a strong position, was assailed at once by Murat in front, Eugene on the left, and Poniatowski on the right, and speedily fell back, and disclosed the Russian army in position about Borodino, with a strong redoubt in a detached situation in front. Campan's division instantly charged and carried the redoubt with the bayonet, but it was retaken by reinforcements sent by Bagration: three times was it recovered and as often was it lost, but at last it remained in possession of the French; but with such loss to the regiment in advance, that when the emperor reviewed it the next day, he inquired where was its third battalion: "In the redoubt," replied the colonel.

During the 6th, the army was drawn up in order of battle: the emperor encamped in the midst of the old guard, and passed the night restless, agitated, and ill. His health had been visibly enfeebled, and his constitution was observed to have lost its elasticity and vigor, ever since the campaign began. Now a burning fever, accompanied by an attack from a painful malady to which he was subject,* rendered the night preceding this important battle, as wretched to his physical sensations as the reflections upon his situation made it to his mind. Lying sleepless in his tent, he was constantly

* A retention of urine.

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calling to know the hour, inquiring if any noise was heard, and sending persons to ascertain if the enemy was still before him. Then becoming uneasy about the state of his army, he sent for Bessières, to know if his chosen reserve were in possession of everything they wanted. Satisfied by the answer, he retired and fell into a doze. Awaking soon, he called again. His aide-de-camp found him now supporting his head with both hands, and seeming, from what was overheard, to be meditating on the emptiness of military glory: "What is war?" he muttered: "a trade of barbarians, the whole art of which consists in being strongest on a given point." He then complained of the fickleness of fortune, which he said he began to experience. Finally, being assured that the Russians were still before him, he tried to rest; but a fever, a dry cough, and a consuming thirst, distressed him. At five o'clock, an officer arrived from Ney, requesting orders to begin the attack. He rose with his wonted spirit, called his officers, and went out exclaiming, "We have them at last! Forward! Let us advance to open the gates of Moscow." He rode to the captured redoubt, and when the sun rose, he pointed to it and said, "Behold the sun of Austerlitz!" But it was opposite to the French army, dazzling their eyes and revealing their movements to the enemy. The Russian positions extended in a semicircular line two leagues in length, with their right on the Kologha and the Moskwa, and their left on the old Moscow road: their centre, which Barclay commanded, rested on the road from Smolensk to Moscow, and extended from the village of Semenowski to Gorcka, overlooking Borodino, and supported by one principal redoubt and several smaller ones.

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Napoleon had ordered Poniatowski, on the right, to begin the attack; but before his firing was heard, Eugene, on the left, had carried the town and bridge of Borodino, and his men having carelessly advanced too far, were thrown into disorder and driven back. Napoleon ordered a general attack. Davoust, with two divisions and thirty pieces of cannon in front, advanced briskly against the principal redoubt: their infantry reserved their fire until they were near enough to make it destructive, and as the discharges of the Russian musketry were incessant, the French loss, especially among the officers, was frightful. Davoust himself was wounded. An aide-de-camp was sent to the emperor, saying the guard was required: "No!" replied Napoleon; "I shall take good care of that; I will not see it destroyed: I shall gain the battle without it." Ney then advanced with his three divisions with irresistible fury: the redoubts were carried, and the enemy's left and centre driven back. Murat was then ordered forward to complete the victory; but, in the meanwhile, the Russian second line had rallied, and aided by strong reinforcements, advanced and drove back the assailants; while the Westphalians, under Poniatowski, coming upon the field on the extreme right, mistook Murat's cavalry, who were now retreating, for enemies, and fired upon them. At the same time, the Russian horse, following up the advantage, swept forward, surrounded Murat, who, in endeavoring to rally his troops, had forgotten himself, and were stretching out their hands to take hold of him, when he threw himself into a redoubt and escaped. There he seized a weapon, and fighting with one hand, with the other he raised and waved his well-known snow-white plume, and calling to his men

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who were thrown into confusion and panic, gradually restored confidence and courage around him, while Ney re-formed his divisions, checked the enemy's cuirassiers, and Murat was rescued, and the heights on which the redoubt stood were reconquered. Incensed by the shock which he had experienced, Murat then placed himself at the head of two divisions of cavalry, rushed upon the enemy, and after obstinate and renewed charges, broke their line, drove them back upon their centre, and within an hour had totally defeated their left wing. Meanwhile, the great redoubt, after repeated assaults, was carried by Caulaincourt, who perished in the enterprise, and the Russian army, driven from their positions, began to retire. Napoleon was frequently urged to allow the guard to advance and render the victory decisive, but he constantly refused. In truth, he was suffering all day under illness and depression, which seemed to deprive him of all energy and all interest in the combat: but his refusal to allow the guard to be engaged was the effect of a selfish love of power, which began already to contemplate the loss of the army, with a determination to maintain his own political and personal safety. In this great battle, the force on both sides amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand combatants, and six hundred pieces of cannon: the Russian loss was fifteen thousand killed, among whom were Prince Bragation and two generals, thirty thousand wounded, including thirty generals, besides thirteen pieces of cannon; and the French loss was twelve thousand killed, including Caulaincourt, Monbrun, and other generals, thirty-six thousand wounded, among whom were thirty generals, together with ten pieces of cannon.

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The Russian army fell back to Mojaisk, and finally abandoned the protection of Moscow. Murat, in command of the advanced-guard, dashed on with his accustomed recklessness: near Krymskoie, on the 11th of September, overtaking the enemy's rear strongly posted, he attacked them with such rashness that two thousand of the young guard were killed, and Mortier, in a rage, wrote to the emperor, who remained ill at Mojaisk, that he would no longer obey Murat's orders. Davoust soon after obtained access to the emperor's person, and offered, in spite of his wound, to take command of the vanguard, and promised that he would reach the enemy and compel him to fight, without squandering the lives of the soldiers as Murat did; but Napoleon answered him only by extolling the daring and indefatigable energy of his brother. On the 14th of September, Napoleon, being somewhat recovered in health, joined the advanced-guard. He mounted his horse a few leagues from Moscow, having previously driven in his carriage. About two o'clock in the day, the army arrived upon the eminence called the "Hill of Salvation," from which the holy city becomes visible. Glittering with a thousand varied colors, as the sunrays flashed from its gilded cupolas, it burst upon the eyes of the French soldiers like the fabled city of an Eastern tale. They rushed forward in disorder to the brow of the hill, exclaiming, "Moscow! Moscow!" Napoleon hastened forward, and an exclamation of joy burst from his lips: "There, at last," he said, "is that famous city;" and then added, "it is high time." Napoleon now entertained strong hopes that a deputation from the boyers, or from the citizens, making submission, would appear; but the city remained silent and

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inanimate. An officer from Milaradowitch, however, came to declare that the city would be fired, unless the rear of the army was allowed time to evacuate it; and an informal armistice for the day took place. The skirts of the two armies were intermingled for a short time; and Murat was recognised by the Cossacks, who thronged familiarly about him, and by their gestures and exclamations demonstrated their admiration of his character. One of them called him his *hetman*. He took the watches of his officers, and distributed them among these children of the desert. Meanwhile, the dreadful whisper began to be circulated, "Moscow is deserted:" Napoleon refused to give credit to it, and advanced to the Dorogomilow gate. Murat urged him for permission to enter: "Well," he replied, "enter, then, since they wish it. Perhaps these people do not know how even to surrender." Murat, with his long, close column of cavalry, defiled through the gate and advanced along the principal street. Silence and solitude rested over everything. Shuddering at a desertion so ominous, these soldiers passed on in a stillness as profound as that which they met. The whole city was traversed, and Murat, issuing through the opposite gate, from which the Russian rear-guard had departed, dashed forward along the road to Wlademer and Asia.

Such was the termination of this extraordinary march. The wonderful incidents of the stay at Moscow, and the horrors of its retreat belong to other parts of the present work.

The pride of Murat, as connected with the army of Russia, ceased with the arrival at Moscow, and, in the close of the retreat, his honor sank with his spirits. About the 5th of October, an informal and partial

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armistice was established, determinable upon three hours' notice, and during its continuance Murat was constantly made the dupe of the enemy's flatteries. Showing himself at their advanced posts, they cajoled him by the notice which they took of his fine person, and the respect which they affected to pay to his bravery and rank. Their vedettes obeyed his orders; and if he took a fancy to any part of the ground which they occupied, they cheerfully gave it up to him. The Cossack chiefs pretended to manifest an enthusiasm for him, and Murat, for a moment, imagined that they would not again fight against him. It was believed, indeed, that he indulged in yet wilder visions; for, Napoleon, while reading his letters, was heard to exclaim, "Murat, king of the Cossacks! What folly!" At length, after some days, the illusion was dispelled. A Cossack fired at Murat one morning when he came, as usual, to show himself at the advanced posts; and, the former, exasperated, declared the armistice at an end. The battle of Winkowo followed, on the 8th of October. Murat, dexterously led onward by Kutusoff, was there attacked by superior numbers; his first line was surprised and overthrown, his left outflanked, and his retreat with difficulty effected, with the loss of three or four thousand men, twelve pieces of cannon, twenty ammunition-wagons, taken, two generals killed, and himself wounded. The advanced guard had ceased to exist. The cavalry that survived, emaciated with hunger, were scarcely enough to make a single charge.

When Napoleon quitted the army, at Malodeczno, on the 5th of December, 1812, he left Murat in command of the army; but his utter incapacity to the duty of regulating the retreat soon devolved the toil, in-

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voluntarily, upon Ney. "In the chasm which the departure of Napoleon made," says Segur, "Murat was scarcely perceptible." At Wilna, as soon as the well-known, but the no less appalling, cry, "Here are the Cossacks!" was heard, Murat, who might have defended the place four-and-twenty hours longer, and saved many lives, was among the first to fly. He was seen forcing his way through the crowd, and fleeing alone and on foot from the city. But darker traits were soon to develop themselves: not only did his want of fortitude disgrace his character as a soldier, but a selfish solicitude for his crown, led him to conspire in the basest manner against his benefacter and his brother. At Gumbinnen, where the remains of the Russian army rallied, previously to the detailing of the different corps to the fortresses along the Vistula, Murat assembled the various commanders, whose control Napoleon had confided to his hands. To them he declared "that it was no longer possible to serve such a madman; that there was no safety in supporting his cause; that no monarch in Europe could now place any reliance on his word, or in treaties concluded with him: he, himself, was in despair for having rejected the propositions of the English; had it not been for that, he would still be a great monarch, such as the emperor of Austria, and king of Prussia." Davoust cut him abruptly short. "The king of Prussia, and the emperor of Austria," said he, "are monarchs by the grace of God, of time, and the custom of nations. But, as for you, you are only a king by the grace of Napoleon, and of the blood of Frenchmen; you can not remain so but through Napoleon, and by continuing united to France. You are misled by the blackest

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ingratitude." The other marshals remained silent; and, Murat, mortified by the exposure he had made of himself, was put entirely out of countenance. It was not very long, however, before the king of Naples consummated his disgrace, by an open abandonment of his post, and palpable treachery to his indulgent master. And, from this time, Murat's character, yielding every sentiment of honor to the sordid desire of maintaining his throne, loses every semblance of respectability and honor. Arriving at Posen, in east Prussia, on the 16th of January, 1813, he suddenly resigned his duty into the hands of Eugene, and set out for his dominions in Italy. "The king, your husband," wrote Napoleon to Caroline, on the 24th, "abandoned the army on the 16th. He is a very brave man on the field of battle; but he is feebler than a woman or a monk, when not in the presence of the enemy. He is destitute of moral courage." "I suppose," he wrote soon after, to Murat, "that you are one of those who think that the lion is dead. You will find that you are mistaken. You have done me all the mischief that you could, since my departure from Wilna. Your elevation to the throne has turned your head." The allies, at this time, eager to detach the emperor's allies from his side, were making advantageous offers to the king of Naples; but the latter, not yet satisfied that Napoleon's cause was hopeless, was not ready openly to abandon him. At length, when the emperor appeared in Saxony, at the head of a splendid host, had won the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen, and had entered Dresden and revived the prestige of his fortune, Murat hastened to join him, at Gorletz, on the 17th of August, 1813, with the offer of his services. Napoleon received him indulgently, and gave

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him again the command of the cavalry : and, certainly, his valor and conduct at the battles of Dresden and Leipsig, illustrated the highest order of devotion, bravery, and ability. But, when the inspiration of battle was over, which seemed to be the only support of his honor, as well as his distinction, and he became the slave of the political anxieties which beset him, a miserable scene of vacillation and intrigue followed. He took leave of Napoleon, for the last time, at Erfurth, on the 23d of October; and, soon after, opened confidential and inconsistent negotiations with Napoleon and with Metternich; and, finally, on the 11th of January, entered into a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Austria, with the sanction of the allies, by which she guarantied his Italian dominions, and he engaged to join their army, on the Po, with thirty thousand men. In thus becoming an open enemy of France, it is just to state, that he declared he was induced to take the step, in consequence of Napoleon's having expressed a resolution to dethrone him, and incorporate Naples with the kingdom of Italy. But there was no excuse for what followed. Having invaded and occupied Bologna, Ancona, and Rome, he issued, on the 16th of January, 1816, a proclamation in these terms: "Soldiers ! as long as I could believe that the emperor Napoleon fought for the peace and happiness of France, I stood by his side; but that illusion is no longer possible. He breathes nothing but war. I should be false to the interests of my native country, and my present kingdom, and to yours, if I did not separate my armies from his, and join those great allies who respect the independence of nations, and the dignity of thrones. Soldiers! there are but two banners in Europe: on

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one are inscribed 'religion, morality, justice, law, peace, and happiness;' on the other, 'persecution, artifice, violence, tyranny, war, and sorrow, to all people.'" To this movement of Murat, Napoleon attributed, in a great degree, his own ruin: and frequently spoke of him as paving the events of 1814, and being one of the principal causes of the banishment to St. Helena. He neutralized Eugene, on the Po, and fought against him, whereas, by uniting together, they might have descended into Germany, fallen upon the rear of the allies, and cut off their retreat. Of his proclamation, Napoleon spoke with the deepest indignation. "It is difficult," said he, "to conceive anything disgraced by a greater degree of turpitude: he says, in that document, that the moment is come to choose between two banners, that of crime, and that of virtue. It is my banner which he calls the banner of crime! and, it is Murat, my creature, the husband of my sister, the man who owed everything to me, who exists by me, and is known through me alone: it is Murat who writes this! It is impossible to desert the cause of misfortune with more unfeeling brutality, and to run with more unblushing baseness to hail a new destiny."

But the weakness of this prince, was destined to punish itself: and, a second treachery, caused, as before, by selfishness and moral cowardice, brought his speedy ruin. His head was turned on hearing of Napoleon's arrival in France. Accustomed to the emperor's great reverses of fortune, he thought he saw him already master of all Europe: and determined, in the confusion likely to ensue, to consult his own safety by establishing the independence of Italy. He began

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hostilities at once; crossed the Po, on the 31st of March, 1815, and published a proclamation from Rimini, calling upon the Italians to assert their independence. He, at first, gained considerable success, and the Austrians were driven to the Po; but soon concentrating their forces, Murat was defeated, and compelled to retreat to Naples. During the retreat, he exhibited all the daring and reckless valor, for which he had once been distinguished; he charged the Austrians, repeatedly, at the head of his troops, and seemed to seek for death. He entered Naples, secretly, on the evening of the 19th of May, and immediately proceeded to his palace, where he appeared before the queen, pale and emaciated, in the dress of a lancer. Tenderly embracing her, he said, "All is lost, madam, but my life; and that I have not been able to lose." He took farewell of his children, had his hair cut short, and dressing himself in a plain gray suit, he proceeded on foot to the seashore, accompanied only by his nephew, a colonel in the lancers. Embarking in a little boat, he proceeded to the neighboring island of Ischia, where he remained three or four days, unknown, and then, perceiving a small vessel approaching the coast to the east, he got into a fishing-boat and rowed out to it. It belonged to the king's grand-equery, who, together with the king's aide-de-camp, was on board of it, and in search of the king. They landed at Cannes, on the 27th or 28th of May; and, Murat wrote to Fouché, desiring him to apprize the emperor that it was his intention to proceed to Paris. Napoleon, by way of answer, demanded, "What treaty of peace had been concluded between France and Naples, since 1814;" and sent him word that he must remain where he was.

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"I should have taken him with me, to Waterloo," said Napoleon, speaking of this, afterward, at St. Helena; "but such was the patriotic and moral feeling of the French army (who looked upon his declaration of war, in 1814, as the cause of their subsequent disasters), that it was doubtful whether the troops could surmount the horror and disgust which they felt, for the man who had betrayed and lost France. I did not consider myself sufficiently powerful to protect him. Yet he might have enabled us to gain the victory. How useful he would have been at certain periods of the battle! He would have broken three or four English squares: Murat was admirable in such a service as this; he was precisely the man for it."

Murat, after the battle of Waterloo, applied to Sir Charles Stuart, for the prince regent's permission to find an asylum in England, which was declined. He then fixed himself at Toulon, and prepared a vessel to sail to Havre. He was here obliged to conceal himself from the vindictive and fanatical royalists, who eagerly sought his life. His vessel was seized by his enemies, and compelled by them to put to sea without him, carrying away his attendants, his money, and his clothes, and leaving him without even a change of linen. After encountering a variety of perils, he embarked, on the evening of the 22d of August, in an open boat, with three other persons, for Corsica, which, after four or five days' exposure, they reached in safety. A curious and interesting narrative of the incidents of the king's wanderings, was published by his aide-de-camp, M. Macerone, in 1817, which exhibits a scene of romantic perils, exceeding even the adventures of Prince Charles Edward. He established himself at

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Ajaccio, and organized a small force for the purpose of reaching Naples, and attempting to recover his kingdom. Meanwhile, M. Macerone arrived with permission, from Metternich, for him to take up his abode in Austria, and with a passport for him to Trieste: but it was too late; he had determined to risk everything in the design of re-obtaining his throne. About midnight, on the 28th or 29th of September, he embarked with two hundred and fifty veterans, of tried courage and daring, and a little squadron of five small vessels, for Salerno, thirty miles from Naples, where a number of old Neapolitan troops were assembling. On the following night, however, a violent storm separated the vessels, and, on its subsiding, the king found himself, without the rest of his fleet, off the town of Pizzo, where he immediately landed, with his boat's company, consisting of thirty-one persons, all veteran officers, among whom was General Franceschetti. He was received with enthusiastic cheers by some of the coast-guards, and passed through Pizza, toward Monteleone. When they were about half way to the latter town, they saw a strong party of armed men, under Colonel Trentacapelli, approaching from Pizzo, which they supposed that the colonel had collected for the purpose of joining them. They halted, and when the party came up, the king advanced a few steps, and some of his followers cried, "Viva il Ré Gioachino!" which was answered by a volley of muskets. A sharp encounter took place, in which several of Murat's company were killed, after fighting desperately; and, Murat, finding it impossible to prevail, determined to regain his vessel. But the captain of his vessel, hearing the firing, had put to sea, and the fishing-boat, into

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which the monarch threw himself, was, unluckily, aground and could not be got off. The boat was speedily surrounded, but no one laid hands upon the formidable hero: he stood up, unarmed, amidst his enemies, and besought them to let him go. He, finally, produced his Austrian passport for Trieste: but, all being in vain, he at length yielded himself to his pursuers. Intelligence was at once sent, by telegraph, to Naples, where Ferdinand the Fourth had succeeded to the throne of his fathers; and orders to assemble a court-martial, for the trial of Murat, were returned by the same rapid conveyance. A summary trial and condemnation took place. He received his sentence with a smile of scorn; and wrote an affectionate letter of farewell to his wife and children, which he earnestly begged might be safely delivered. He then asked for the services of a clergyman, and received the eucharist, declaring that he thought it his duty to die in the profession of the religion in which he had been educated. Refusing to sit upon the stool which was offered to him, or to have his eyes bandaged, he stood up before the line of soldiers, who were to carry his sentence into execution, and, pressing to his heart a picture of his wife and children, which he carried about his person, received with a smile the fatal fire. He died in the forty-ninth year of his age.

When this intelligence reached Napoleon at St. Helena, it excited but little sympathy for him who had so grievously injured his master. "Murat," said the emperor, "was doomed to be our bane. He ruined us by forsaking us, and he ruined us by too warmly espousing our cause." At the time of his attacking the Austrians, Napoleon supposed himself to be on the point of

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concluding an arrangement of neutrality with Austria; but Murat's conduct gave that empire ground to accuse Napoleon of ambitious designs, and produced an unfavorable effect on the negotiations. Murat was a man of warm affections, and undoubtedly attached in feeling to the emperor; but the weakness of his character, his rashness, and his vanity, were the ruin of both himself and his benefactor. "Murat's unfortunate end," said Napoleon, when he heard of his death, "corresponds with his conduct. He was endowed with extraordinary courage and little intelligence. The too great disproportion between these two qualifications explains the man entirely. He is one of the principal causes of our being here. But the fault is originally mine. There were several men whom I had made too great: I had raised them above the sphere of their intelligence."

To break up and disorder the solid masses of an enemy's line of battle, or, when a battle was gained, to turn a defeat into a rout, and win the splendid trophies of the triumph, Murat's services were of priceless value. "At the head of a body of horsemen," said Napoleon, "no man was ever more resolute, more courageous, or more brilliant." Those who might have been disposed to doubt how much he contributed to the immense results of Jena, could not be struck with the effects of his absence at Wagram and Friedland. Murat could make the most of a corps of cavalry; but there all his value and all his ability ceased. In combinations of military forms, in the conception of complicated movements, in the judgment that weighs perplexed elements of reason, and deduces a sound conclusion from heterogeneous considerations, his power was nothing. Napoleon ever mentioned him with unbounded applause

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of his courage, and utter contempt for his judgment. "With respect to physical courage," said he, "it was impossible for Murat and Ney not to be brave; but no men ever possessed less moral courage, the former in particular." To O'Meara he drew a portrait of this remarkable man, which may serve in place of any inferior sketching: "Murat," he said, "was the best cavalry officer in the world. There were not, I believe, two such officers in the world as Murat for the cavalry, and Drouot for the artillery. Murat was a most singular character. Four-and-twenty years ago, when he was a captain, I made him my aide-de-camp, and subsequently raised him to be what he was. He loved, I may rather say, adored me. In my presence he was, as it were, struck with awe, and ready to fall at my feet. I acted wrong in having separated him from me, as without me he was nothing. With me, he was my right arm. Order Murat to attack and destroy four or five thousand men in such a direction, it was done in a moment; but leave him to himself, he was an *imbécile*, without judgment. I can not conceive how so brave a man could be so *lache*. He was nowhere brave unless before the enemy. *There* he was, probably, the bravest man in the world. His boiling courage carried him into the midst of the enemy, covered with feathers and glittering with gold. How he escaped is a miracle, being always a distinguished mark, and fired at by everybody. Even the Cossacks admired him on account of his extraordinary bravery. Every day Murat was engaged in single combat with some of them, and never returned without his sabre dropping with the blood of some of those whom he had slain. He was a paladin, in fact a Don Quixote, in the field; but take him into the cabinet, he was a poltroon, without judgment or decision."

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EDWARD MORTIER,

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, MAY 19, 1804.

DUKE OF TREVISO.

Edward Adolphus Casimir Joseph Mortier—Long Mortier, as Napoleon sometimes familiarly called him, from his elevated stature—son of Antony Charles Joseph Mortier, one of the deputies of the states-general, was born at Chateau-Cambrésis, on the 18th of February, 1768. He began his career in the army of the north, which he entered as a sub-lieutenant, and became a captain in 1791, and a major and adjutant-general in 1793. In 1795, he was transferred to the army of the Sambre and Meuse, with the rank of chief of brigade, which is equal to that of colonel; he there served during 1795 and 1796, was made brigadier-general and general of division in 1799, and was employed successively in the armies of the Danube and of Switzerland. In 1800 and 1801, he was at the head of the seventeenth military division; and in the war against England, he invaded Hanover, at the head of the French troops, in 1803. In 1804, he was appointed one of the commanders of the consular guard, a marshal of the empire, and a grand officer of the legion of honor. During the campaign of Austerlitz, in 1805, he commanded the infantry of the guard for a time; but as the army was advancing down the

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MORTIER.

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Danube, Murat and Lannes forming the advanced guard on the right bank, four divisions, amounting in all to twenty thousand men, were detached to the left bank under the command of Mortier, to harass the rear and flank of the retreating Russians, and with orders to keep up with Murat's advanced guard on the right bank. The indiscreet precipitancy with which Murat rushed onward down the Danube, very nearly proved fatal to Mortier; for on the 11th of November, while Mortier with Gazan's division had passed the defile of Diernstein, and was engaged in a fierce attack on Kutusoff's rearguard, Doctoroff marched back through the mountains, and, occupying Diernstein, cut off Mortier from a retreat. With the utmost discretion and coolness, Mortier adopted the only judicious course, which was, to fight his way to the other divisions which were coming up. He accordingly returned toward the defile, which was now occupied on all sides by the enemy, who opened a destructive fire upon the devoted band. Advancing in close column, and attacked both in front and rear, Mortier sustained himself with heroic resolution. Two thirds of the division were killed, three eagles were taken, and Mortier, apparently on the point of falling into the hands of the Russians, was advised to cross the river in a boat which was fastened to the shore. "No," was his noble reply; "leave that resource for the wounded: a general who has the happiness to command such troops as these, should deem himself happy in sharing their perils. Let us close up and make a last effort." The fire of Dupont's division, which was hastening up on the other side of Diernstein, was now heard, and the soldiers felt that their relief was at hand. Night closed,

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however, and the strength of this Spartan group was nearly exhausted, when the shouts of their comrades arriving to their relief were heard. A renewed attack was made on Doctoroff's columns, which now, assailed on both sides, were forced to retreat through the hills; and the soldiers of Gazan's division threw themselves into the arms of their comrades, crying: "You have saved us at last." Three thousand were killed in this terrible combat. The next day, Mortier recrossed the Danube, and the left bank was left to the enemy.

In the campaign of 1806, he had for some time the superior command of the fifth and eighth corps of the grand army of Russia; but he was detached from it after it had passed the Rhine, and was ordered to occupy Hanover, the Hesse towns, and Hamburg. On the 19th of November, Hamburg was taken possession of by the French army in the name of the emperor, amid the utmost order and tranquillity. Marshal Mortier, in the execution of the specific commands which he had received from the emperor, was obliged to make very rigorous exactions, but he moderated their severity as much as it was possible for him to do. "I am bound," says Bourrienne, who was then resident at Hamburg as minister plenipotentiary, "to bear testimony to the marshal's honorable principles and dignity of character." By the famous Berlin decree of November 21, 1806, Mortier was obliged to order all English merchandise in the Hanse towns; but he enforced the decree only so far as to give it a formal obedience. He was engaged during the winter of 1806–'07, in reducing Colberg, Stralsund, and other fortresses on the Oder and Vistula; and after the disappearance of Augereau's corps at the battle of Eylau,

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Mortier's troops were brought up from Pomerania and became the eighth corps of the army.

In 1808, Mortier was created duke of Treviso, and soon after was sent into Spain. He commanded the fifth corps during the Spanish war until 1811. He assisted at the siege of Saragossa, but in general his operations were marked with little vigor or ability. In 1811, he became colonel-general of the artillery, the sappers, and the marines of the guard; and in 1812 was placed at the head of the young guard, and in that capacity took part in the Russian invasion.

When Napoleon entered Moscow on the evening of the 14th of September, 1812, he appointed Mortier governor of the city. "Above everything," were his directions, "no pillage! For this you shall answer to me with your life. Preserve Moscow against all, both friends and foes." The gloomy silence which received the troops soon became more alarming, by the reports which arrived of fire having broken out in several remote quarters of the city, where none of the army had yet penetrated. Napoleon concealed the alarm which this intelligence created, and issued repeated orders to have the flames subdued and the utmost care employed to prevent their breaking out. About two o'clock on the morning of the 15th, the exchange, in the centre of the city, was on fire. At daylight the emperor hastened to the spot, and threatened the young guard and Mortier. The latter directed the emperor's attention to the houses covered with iron and firmly closed, out of which, nevertheless, the smoke was issuing. It was known at the same time that the French patrols had seized a number of Russians, of the lowest order of wretchedness, who

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were said to have been released from prison when the city was abandoned, and who, whether employed by the government, or incited by their passions and by a hope of plunder, were openly running from palace to palace, and from house to house, setting fire to everything that came in their way. "I saw several of those miscreants," says Baron Larrey, "taken in the act; lighted matches and combustibles were found in their possession." Napoleon contemplated the prospect with a shudder: but Mortier performed his duty with unrelaxing diligence. By day he was able to subdue the fire; and the incendiaries kept themselves concealed. But at night they issued forth again; and the spectacle of the lurid flame bursting forth from palaces and stores in every direction, attested the presence of a mysterious and dreadful enemy. On the 16th, the flames, driven in every direction by the violent equinoctial wind which was raging, had devastated the greater part of the populous quarters of the city: most of the officers sought refuge in the halls of the Kremlin. "The chiefs and Mortier himself," says Segur, "overcome by the fire, with which for thirty-six hours they had been contending, there dropped down from fatigue and despair." At length the cry passed from mouth to mouth, "The Kremlin is on fire!" Napoleon, who had passed two days of anguish and dismay, hastily descended into the street, and desired to be guarded out of the city, to the imperial palace of Petrowski, a league on the road to Petersburgh.

"But we were encircled," says Segur, "by a sea of fire, which blocked up all the gates of the citadel, and frustrated the first attempts that were made to depart. After some search, we discovered a postern gate lead-

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ing between the rocks to the Moskowa. By this narrow passage, Napoleon, with his officers and guard, escaped from the Kremlin. But the city, which roared around them like an ocean of flame, was yet to be traversed. No time was to be lost. A single narrow, winding street, all on fire, appeared to be rather the entrance than the outlet to this hell. The emperor rushed instantly forward on foot into this narrow passage. He proceeded amid the crackling of flames, the crashing of floors, the fall of burning timbers and of red-hot iron roofs, and all the horrors of a tremendous conflagration. The flames, roaring from the tops of the buildings between which the party proceeded, were blown together by the wind, and formed an arch over their heads. Surrounded on every side by fire, and in an atmosphere filled with fire, they rushed along in doubt as to the issue which the road might afford. At this instant of inexpressible distress, when safety consisted only in a rapid advance, the guide stopped, in uncertainty and agitation. Fortunately, some pillagers of the first corps here recognised the emperor amid the whirling flames; they ran up and guided him toward the smoking ruins of a quarter which had been reduced to ashes in the morning. It was then necessary to pass a long convoy of powder which was defiling amid the fire: but this peril was at last surmounted, and by nightfall the emperor reached Petrowski. The next morning, which was the 17th of September, the emperor looked toward the city, which resembled a vast spout of fire rising in whirling eddies to the sky, which it colored: he observed a long and gloomy silence, and then exclaimed: 'This forbodes great misfortunes to us.' "

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The fire continued to rage with unabated terror and sublimity. "It would be difficult," says the Baron Larrey, "under any circumstances, to imagine a picture more horrible than that with which our eyes were afflicted. It was more particularly during the night between the 18th and 19th of September, the period when the fire was at its highest pitch, that its consequences presented a terrific spectacle; the weather was fine and dry, and the wind was blowing from north and east. During that night, the dreadful image of which will never be effaced from my recollection, the whole of the city was on fire. Large columns of flames, of various colors, shot up from every quarter, covering the whole horizon, and diffusing a glare of light and a heat which scorched at a considerable distance. These masses of fire, driven on by a violent wind, were accompanied in their rise and rapid movement by a dreadful whizzing, and by thundering explosions, which were produced by the gunpowder, saltpetre, oil, resin, and brandy, with which the greater part of the houses and shops had been filled. The varnished iron plates which covered the buildings were torn off by effect of the heat, and carried to a great distance; huge beams and rafters of fire, seized by the flames, were thrown an immense way off, carrying the combustion to remote and isolated dwellings. Every one stood mute with terror and consternation. I remained with a very small number of my comrades, in a house built of stone, which stood alone, near the Kremlin: thence I was enabled to observe this appalling conflagration."

A few days after, Napoleon returned to Moscow, in which only the Kremlin and a few scattered houses were left standing. On the 19th of October, after

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every hope of negotiations with the Russian government was at an end, Napoleon left Moscow, and began his retreat by the way of Kaluga. Mortier was left with a rear-guard of eight thousand men to occupy the city and cover the march of the army and the retreat of the different convoys. Barrels of gunpowder were placed in all the halls of the palace of the czars, and one hundred and eighty-three thousand pounds of powder under the vaults upon which they rested. Mortier's orders were to defend the Kremlin, and, on retiring, to blow it up and burn what yet remained of the city. The intrepid marshal resigned himself without hesitation. He was looked upon as a devoted victim. The other marshals took leave of him with tears; and Napoleon, as he left him, said that "he relied on his good fortune; but still, in war, we must sometimes make part of a fire." For four days the heroic marshal remained above this volcano, which a single Russian shell would have exploded. At length, depositing in a secret and safe place a skilfully-prepared firework, the combustion of which was accurately calculated, and lighting it by a slow fire, Mortier left the city with rapidity. While he was moving away, a horde of squalid Muscovites and Cossacks, enticed by the hope of plunder, came into the city. They listened, but all was quiet; emboldened by the solitude which seemed to prevail, they penetrated to the Kremlin. Eagerly anticipating the spoil that awaited them, they ascended the stairs, and were spreading themselves through the splendid halls, when the train exploded: in an instant the mighty edifice and its contents, among which were thirty thousand stand of arms, sent into myriads of fragments, were whirled aloft into the air;

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and after a long interval, the mangled limbs of the wretched plunderers, mingled with shattered weapons and pieces of wall, fell to the earth in a horrible shower. The earth shook beneath the feet of Mortier; the emperor, ten leagues off, heard the tremendous explosion: the last vengeance of French ambition had been taken against the capital which had been its fate. On the 24th, Mortier reached Vereia and joined the army, now on its retreat through Smolensk.

In 1813 and 1814, Mortier continued faithfully to serve the emperor. In the latter year, when the allies were advancing to Paris, Mortier with difficulty reached the capital, and, together with Marmont, defended the city until an armistice and a surrender were deemed indispensable. He was quickly received into favor by Louis XVIII., who made him governor of the sixteenth military division, a chevalier of the order of St. Louis, and a peer of France. After the return of Napoleon he received, on the 8th of June, 1815, the command of all the cavalry of the guard. He gave up the command at Beaumont on the 15th, and no one was appointed in his stead. After the second restoration, he was made, in 1816, governor of the fifteenth military division; in 1820, a commander of the order of St. Louis; and in 1829, governor of the fourteenth military division. In 1830 he was sent ambassador to Russia; and in 1831 was made grand chancellor of the legion of honor; and on the 18th of November, 1834, was appointed president of the council and minister of war, which offices he held until the 12th of March, 1835. He died at Paris on the 28th of July of that year, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, one of the victims of Fieschi's infernal machine.

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MICHAEL NEY,

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, MAY 19, 1819:

DUKE OF ELCHINGEN: PRINCE OF THE MOSKOWA.

MICHAEL NEY was born at Sarre-Louis, on the 10th of January, 1769. His father, Peter Ney, was a cooper by trade, but in the earlier part of his life he had been a soldier, and, during the seven years' war, he had distinguished himself at the battle of Rosbach. The younger Ney early evinced a turbulent disposition, and his love of danger and excitement was further kindled by the narratives which his father was constantly giving of the stirring scenes in which he had once figured. The Revolution, however, had not yet established the principle of "*la carrière ouverte aux talens*," and the old soldier was so assured, from his own experience, that low-born merit had no prospect of rising in the army, that he determined, in spite of his son's strong inclination for arms, to educate him to a civil employment. He received his first instruction at a school of Augustine monks, and, at an early age, began the study of law in the office of a notary, M. Vallette. Soon, however, disgusted with this occupation, he exchanged it for a clerkship to the procureur de Roi; but this proving not less unacceptable than the other, he was placed, in his fifteenth year, in the post of overseer of the mines of Apenwerla, where he continued two years. It was from affection to his parents, and a sense of duty

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to their wishes, that Ney had undertaken these distasteful employments; and as he became more independent, with advancing years, he resolved to gratify the passion of his heart, and enlist in the army. He accordingly resigned his post, and, after paying a visit to his parents at Sarre-Louis, proceeded to Metz, where, on the 1st of February, 1787, being eighteen years of age, he entered the fourth regiment of hussars. He soon became distinguished among his companions, by his insensibility to danger, his noble, soldierly appearance, his dexterity in the use of weapons, and his daring and skill in the management of unruly horses. In 1791, he was advanced to the rank of brigadier; and the fencing-master of a neighboring regiment having wounded the fencing-master of the fourth hussars, and insulted the whole regiment, Ney was selected to vindicate the honor of his corps. Just as the parties were in attitude to commence the duel, Ney found the hand of his colonel upon his shoulder, and was immediately ordered in arrest. A long confinement followed; but as soon as he was liberated, Ney sought his antagonist, fought him in a secret place, and wounded him in the wrist. The fencing-master, thus disabled, was afterward dismissed from his post, and sank into great poverty; when his successful antagonist, with that kindness of heart which always distinguished him, sought him out, and settled a pension upon him.

In 1792, Ney was advanced, successively, to the ranks of sub-lieutenant and lieutenant; and, in the following year, became captain and aide-de-camp to General Lamarche, with whom he served in the army of the Rhine and Moselle, until the death of that exemplary man, at the storming of the camp at Famars.

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He then returned to his regiment, with the intention of not quitting it again; but, after the battle of Fleurus, in June, 1794, Kleber, the commander of the left wing of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, being desirous to reconnoitre a position, sent for an escort; and, entering into conversation with the officer who commanded it, was so much struck by his remarks, that, after returning home, he sent his aide-de-camp with an order of appointment for this officer to his staff. It was Ney; who, however, declined the offer. Shortly after, at an engagement near Pellemberg, Ney, hearing the firing, changed the route he was following, and came upon the ground at a critical moment. The men under his command were, however, too much fatigued by a long march to follow him. He put himself at the head of a few dragoons, rushed upon the Austrians, and routed them. Kleber, who was an eye-witness of this daring charge, spoke of it thus, in his despatch to the commissioner: "Captain Ney, acting adjutant-general, performed prodigies of valor. At the head of thirty dragoons, and a few chasseurs acting as orderlies, he charged two hundred of the Blanckestein hussars, and threw them into the greatest disorder." In consequence of this report, Gillet, the representative in attendance, appointed Ney, on the 1st of August, 1794, lieutenant-colonel and adjutant-general; the duties of which latter office he had been for some time performing.

Toward the close of the same month, Ney, at the head of his daring troopers, was making brilliant forays through the country, carrying off stores, intercepting convoys, and keeping the enemy in constant alarm. On the 27th of August, when he had advanced toward the village of Werdt, and had become sepa-

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rated from the rest of the army, a trooper, who had deserted, gave the enemy information of the position and strength of Ney's party, and a large company of Prussian dragoons immediately placed themselves in his rear. Becoming apprized of his peril, Ney set out to return; but his scouts soon brought him word that the road was completely beset, that the enemy's cavalry flanked it right and left, and that it was impossible to pass. "Impossible!" cried Ney; "Sound the charge!" With sword in hand, Ney rushed forward at the head of his men, broke the ranks drawn up to intercept him, and cleared the passage in safety. The plain, however, was full of Austrian troops; and, as he approached Eyndhoven, another considerable body of cavalry debouched in front of them. Regardless of superior numbers, Ney threw himself headlong into their ranks, dispersed them, and took prisoner their commander, who proved to be the Baron Homspech. For this service, Ney was promoted to the rank of chief of brigade. During the remainder of the campaign, Ney was employed under Bernadotte, who led the van of the army, in the boldest and most daring enterprises against detachments of the enemy, which were crowned with brilliant success. During the siege of Maestricht, Ney's valor in forcing the passage of the Roer, won him especial distinction. Bernadotte, in reporting his success to Kleber, said: "Great praise is due to the brave Ney: he seconded me with the ability which you know he possesses; and I am bound to add, in strict justice, that he greatly contributed to the success we have obtained." The same commander wrote a day or two afterward to Ney himself: "The general who commands an army in which you are em-

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ployed is a fortunate man. I have that good luck, and I fully appreciate it. Continue to pursue and *hussar* the enemy." It is not the least striking, of the strange changes in position which the incidents of the time brought about, that, twenty years after, this same Bernadotte, as king of Sweden, should gain a great victory over this same Ney, as the marshal of an empire yet undreamed of. Ney's vehemence and ardor were of signal value in the siege of Maestricht, which finally capitulated on the 4th of November, 1794. Gillet, the representative, wrote to his colleagues: "Ney is a distinguished officer, and is necessary to our large body of cavalry. Men of his stamp are not common."

In January, 1795, while the siege of Mayence was proceeding, Ney, being near a redoubt which the enemy had thrown up and manned hastily, and having under him some troops from the army of the Rhine, and some from that of the Sambre and Meuse, was desirous to give the former a specimen of the valor which he wished them to emulate. He therefore assembled a few dragoons and voltiguers for the attack of the position. "I am going," said he, "to show you a trick after the manner of Sambre-and-Meuse." Sending his voltiguers against the front of the redoubt, he passed round to the rear with his dragoons, and approached along the pass which the redoubt defended. His men hesitated and hung back, so that he entered the redoubt alone. Single-handed, he cut his way through the midst of the enemy, repassed the ditch, and escaped, after a severe wound in his arm. A species of lockjaw ensued, and his health became completely shattered. At this time, he was appointed general of brigade; but, believing that he had not yet

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sufficiently earned that promotion, he wrote to the board of war declining the appointment, and, notwithstanding the entreaties of his friends, persisted in refusing to accept it. Merlin, the representative in attendance upon the army, advised him to try his native air for the benefit of his wound. "My brave friend," he wrote to him, on the 7th of January, 1795, "go, and complete your cure at Sarre-Libre,* your birthplace. I have despatched an order to a surgeon of the first class, Bonaventure, to send one of his pupils with you. Return soon, and lend us your powerful aid against the enemies of your country." Kleber, at the same time, gave him a certificate, stating that he had commanded, with distinction, various bodies of cavalry during the campaign, and "that, in every operation intrusted to him, he displayed the most consummate skill and bravery, particularly at the siege of Maestricht, where, by his valor, he did eminent service to the republic." Ney, accordingly, returned home, and resigned himself, reluctantly, to the tedious delay of convalescence; but, in the autumn of 1795, he was again with the van of the army when it crossed the Rhine, and was exhibiting anew his characteristic energy and hardihood. In June and July, 1796, serving in Collaud's division of cavalry, under Kleber, he distinguished himself in the highest degree, at the battles of Altenkirchen, Herborn, and Ukerath. At the battle near Forcheim, in the beginning of August, Ney's services were equally conspicuous, and the surrender of the place was owing to his intrepid and determined boldness. As soon as the imperial army had begun to retreat, Ney rode up to the gates, and summoned the

* Jacobinized from Sarre-Louis.

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garrison to surrender; and, as some hesitation took place, he threatened at once to bombard the place. The commander consented to give up the fortress; but, as the Austrian troops were yet in sight, he desired to delay the surrender until they had effected their retreat. Ney, anxious to pursue the enemy, flew into a violent rage, and swore that he would put the whole garrison to the sword, if the submission was delayed another instant. This threat produced the desired effect; and the town and fortress of Forcheim, with a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and stores, surrendered. Kleber was so delighted by the success of Ney's brilliant energy, that he announced upon the spot that he should make Ney a general of brigade. The chasseurs clapped their hands with satisfaction, and all the officers expressed their cordial approbation. Kleber, on the following day, wrote to the directory as follows: "Adjutant-general Ney, in this and the preceding campaigns, has given numerous proofs of talent, zeal, and intrepidity; but he surpassed even himself in the battle which took place yesterday, and he had two horses killed under him. I have thought myself justified in promoting him, on the field of battle, to the rank of general of brigade. A commission of this grade was forwarded to him eighteen months ago, but his modesty did not allow him then to accept it. By confirming this promotion, citizen-directors, you will perform a striking act of your justice." Before the commission arrived, Ney had further distinguished himself by the capture of Nuremberg; and Jourdan was so highly gratified by this achievement, that, in transmitting to him, on the 15th of August, 1796, the commission of general of brigade, which had

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been received at headquarters, he paid him some high compliments. "Government," said Jourdan, "has discharged a debt which it owed to one of its worthiest and most zealous servants; and it has only done justice to the talents and courage of which you daily give fresh proofs." In the actions about Sulzbach, a few days after, Ney showed how thoroughly well these commendations were deserved. After Jourdan's resignation, in September, 1796, Ney continued to serve under Bournonville, and with so much satisfaction, that, on the 10th of January, 1797, the commander-in-chief recommended his appointment in the vacancy caused by Lefebvre's resignation. "I recommend," wrote Bournonville to the directory, "that Brigadier-General Ney be appointed general of division, to command the vanguard, in the place of General Lefebvre. This officer, intrepid in action, has, during this campaign, covered himself with glory. He has always commanded corps in the vanguard, and is the only one I know who could efficiently command that of the army of Sambre-and-Meuse."

He continued to serve in the army of Sambre-and-Meuse, after Hoche assumed the command, and he was honored with the confidence and admiration of that brilliant chief. In March, 1797, while charging, near Giessen, with his usual impetuosity, his detachment was suddenly attacked by superior numbers of Austrian cavalry, who overwhelmed and swept away the French horsemen. Ney's horse fell and rolled with him into a ravine. His sword snapped in the middle, and he was covered with bruises. The enemy rushed upon him, but he still resisted; he parried and struck with the fragment of his sword, and kept the crowd at

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bay, until his foot slipped, and he fell to the ground. The Austrians then seized him, and he was conveyed to Giessen.

The fame of Ney's character, and of his heroic resistance to a whole company of cavalry, had preceded him, and, as he passed through the streets of Giessen, the women thronged eagerly to see one whose bravery seemed to rival the wonders of chivalry. "Really," said an Austrian officer who was conducting him, "one would suppose that he was some extraordinary animal." —"Extraordinary enough," replied one of the women, "since it required a whole squadron of dragoons to take him!" Ney was received at headquarters with respect; and was conversing with some officers, when he perceived his horse mounted by an Austrian, and exhibiting the most weak, lazy, and obstinate conduct. He made some remark about the incapacity of the rider, and was answered by a joke about the worthlessness of the horse. The animal soon became a subject of ridicule, and some one proposed to buy him. Ney approached him. "I will show you," said he, "the value of my horse." He sprang upon the saddle, and in an instant the horse was flying like the wind in the direction of the French camp. Ney came very near making his escape; but the trumpets were sounded, and in a moment every avenue was closed. Ney turned the horse, and with equal rapidity reached the spot from which he had set out.

Ney had the honor while in captivity of receiving a flattering testimony of respect from the directory. "The executive directory," wrote the president, Letourneur, to him on the 1st of May, 1797, "is truly afflicted, citizen-general, at the accident which occa-

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sioned your falling into the hands of the enemy. The impetuosity of your courage before Giessen, and the brilliant manœuvres which you executed at the head of the squadrons under your command, make this event still more to be regretted. The directory trusts that the army will soon again behold one of its bravest general officers, whose absence is particularly regretted by the general-in-chief." Ney was speedily liberated on parole, and soon after was exchanged for General Orelly.

In the following year, Ney formed part of the corps under Bernadotte, called the army of observation, the principal duty of which was the reduction of Manheim and Philipsburg. The former was surprised by Ney, in a manner that revives the romance of the middle ages. Resolved to ascertain in person the condition of the garrison, he crossed the Rhine in the disguise of a peasant, entered Manheim with a basket on his arm, and soon satisfied himself that such negligence and remissness were prevailing as afforded hope of a successful *coup-de-main*. As he was leaving the place, he met a soldier's wife, who was in the last stage of pregnancy, and speaking to her about her situation, he remarked that her *accouchement* would probably take place before the night was past. "Well," the soldier replied, "the commandant will allow the drawbridge to be let down at any hour of the night, so that, if she is ill, she can have assistance." Ney determined to turn the incident to a favorable account. He recrossed the river, selected a hundred and fifty of his bravest soldiers, passed them over in skiffs, and concealed them under the walls of Manheim. The woman did not disappoint him · her labor came on, the bridge was low-

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ered, and Ney and his men rushed in. They hurried to the citadel; the darkness concealed the smallness of their number, and the garrison, being astonished and terrified, surrendered.

On the 28th of March, 1799, Ney received his appointment of general of division. He at once wrote to the directory, expressing a sincere conviction that his talents were not adequate, and declining the honor. The government again forwarded to him the decree of his appointment, which Ney, by the advice of Bernadotte, now submitted to. In May of the same year he was transferred to the army of Switzerland, commanded by Massena, and at the battle of the Thur was severely wounded not less than three times. On the first occasion, a musket-ball pierced his thigh; then he was wounded in the foot; and the third time his wrist was shattered by a gunshot. He was obliged to retire from the service for two or three months. After his recovery he was ordered to the army of the Rhine, and upon the recall of General Muller, in September, 1799, Ney was provisionally appointed to the chief command of the army. In the campaign of the Rhine, under Moreau, in 1800 and 1801, Ney served with unabated gallantry; and his valor at the battle of Hohenlinden, on the 3d of December, 1800, contributed not a little to the brilliance of that victory. In 1801, Ney returned to France, and was received with great kindness by the first-consul, who appointed him inspector-general of cavalry in the third, fifth, and twenty-sixth military divisions. In the following year, on the 4th of August, he was married through the instrumentality of Josephine, to Aglaé Louisa Augine, a lovely and amiable girl, the intimate friend of Madame Louis Bonaparte,

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and the daughter of a former receiver-general, whose fortune had been greatly reduced by the Revolution, and who now resided at the château of Grignon. In the same village dwelt an old couple who had been married half a century. Ney presented them with clothes, and made them receive the usual renewal of their nuptial benediction at the same time that his own marriage was celebrated. "These old people," said he, "will serve to remind me of the meanness of my own origin, and the renewal of their long union will serve as a happy augury for my own." In the same year, Ney was appointed minister plenipotentiary in Switzerland, where his military talents were again called into successful exercise. He returned to France in the beginning of 1804, and on the 19th of May in that year he was raised to the rank of marshal, and made a grand officer of the legion of honor, and chief of the seventh cohort, and received the command-in-chief of the camp at Montreuil.

In the great campaign of Austerlitz, Ney commanded the sixth corps of the grand army, which, in the beginning of the operations that led to the surrender of Ulm, formed the advanced guard on the left bank of the Danube, while Murat's corps operated on the right bank. At Guntzburg on the 9th, and at Hasslach on the 11th of October, his troops gained decisive and important victories after severe engagements. On the 14th, at daybreak, he arrived with his corps within sight of Elchingen, on the left bank of the river, where General Reisch had taken up a strong position. Ney, advancing along the right bank, to which he had crossed a few days before, arrived opposite to the town, where the skeleton of a bridge remained, which the Austrians the day before had dismantled and damaged, but not whol-

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ly destroyed. This passage was guarded by six pieces of cannon and numerous troops, but the ardor of the French soldiers was irrepressible: they rushed upon the remnants of the bridge, sprang from timber to timber, sweeping all before them, and soon debouched on the left bank. They formed in a narrow meadow, and marched forward, driving the enemy from house to house and from garden to garden. An obstinate resistance was made in the abbey of Elchingen; but at length, the Austrians, being entirely driven from the buildings, drew up in line of battle on an elevated terrace, and the contest was renewed with the greatest fury. Ney, in his full marshal's uniform, exposed his person in the most daring manner; and after a long struggle, his gallantry was rewarded by a complete victory, five thousand prisoners and numerous cannon and colors being taken. The glory of this day was perpetuated in the name and family of Ney by the ducal title conferred upon him a few years afterward.

By the terms of the capitulation of Ulm, Ney's corps remained at that place until the 25th of October; after which time it was ordered to advance over the mountains on the north of the Inn, directly upon Innspruck, and to clear the mountain-fastnesses of the Tyrol from the Austrian forces there assembled under the archduke John and the prince of Rohan. Arriving at the barrier of Scharnitz, on the mountain-road, long deemed impregnable, Ney's corps were at first defeated in a front attack; but the marshal, dividing his troops into three divisions, succeeded in turning the position with one of them, and mastering the fort of Leitasch in its rear; and thence clambering up the precipices which ascended behind it, and which were defended by the rapid

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and unerring fire of the Tyrolese marksmen, displayed the French eagles from the summit of the cliffs, which became the signal for a renewed attack in front, which could no longer be resisted. Innspruck soon after surrendered, and was entered on the 7th of November; Jellachich with five thousand men capitulated at Feldkirch; the archduke John retired for the protection of Vienna; and in the beginning of December, Ney, having accomplished with the most brilliant completeness the purpose of his detachment, marched to Salzbourg, to communicate with the main body of the army.

During the Prussian campaign of 1806, and the Polish campaign of 1807, Ney served with the valor and distinction recorded in the history of those operations. In the following year he was created duke of Elchingen, and sent into Spain, where, in the middle of August, he was placed in command of the centre of the army commanded by King Joseph in person. Upon the reorganization of the army of Spain in September by the emperor, Ney was placed in command of the sixth corps. In the operations connected with the battle of Tudela, his part was an important one; but he did not apprehend the profound combinations of the emperor with sufficient clearness to execute them with the precision and vigor that were required. Ney continued, without making any striking movements, until the 30th of May, 1809, when he advanced to Lugo, and effected a junction with Soult, who had been driven from Portugal by the duke of Wellington. These marshals had now an admirable opportunity of defeating and capturing the marquis de la Romana; but their dissensions and quarrels rendered their operations ineffective. On the 30th of June, 1809, a despatch ar-

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rived from the emperor, at Ratisbon, conferring on Soult the supreme command of the second, fifth, and sixth corps; by which Ney, who commanded the last, was placed under the orders of his brother-marshal. In the operations which took place between Wellington and Soult after the battle of Talavera, Ney acted in this subordinate position, but disobediently and unwillingly, until the 12th of August, when he resigned the command of the sixth corps to General Marchand, and returned to France. In January, 1810, he resumed the command in Old Castile; and when Massena was sent to take the supreme command in April, Ney, yielding in some degree, though not without reluctance, to the superior rank of the new chief, and placed in a situation where his only duty was to execute orders, exhibited again the characteristic ardor and effectiveness of his character. At the first siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, at the battle of the Coa on the 24th of July, at the siege of Almeida, at the battle of Busaco on the 27th of September, during the advance of Massena into Portugal, and at the battle of Redenha on the 12th of March, 1811, during the retreat, in which he commanded the rear-guard, his vigor, audacity, and success, reappeared in all their ancient brilliance. The jealousies inseparable, however, from the relations in which the commander-in-chief stood to the marshals under his orders, had begun to display themselves. At the battle of Busaco, Ney had a right to complain that the prince of Essling had not treated his suggestions with the respect which they deserved. At Miranda an explosion took place, and a violent altercation between Ney and Massena signalized the termination of all harmonious action. At Celerico, on the 23d of March, Ney re-

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fused to execute an order of Massena's to move his troops to Coria, and marched in a different direction. Massena immediately deprived him of his command, and gave his corps to Loison. Ney returned soon after to Paris.

Ney formed not the least brilliant or important part of that splendid company of commanders who waited on the ambition of their master when his daring arms struck at the distant pride of Russia. During the advance to Russia, his impetuous valor sustained the boldness of the emperor, or made good his flagging resolution, on many a critical occasion. In the assault on the citadel of Smolensk, a ball struck him on the neck: at Borodino, his intrepid and obstinate courage was not less effective than the magnificent boldness of Murat; and indignant at the inaction of Napoleon, he did not hesitate to give vent to his anger. "What business," he exclaimed, "has the emperor in the rear of the army? Since he will no longer come himself, and be a general, but wishes to be the emperor everywhere, let him return to the Tuileries, and leave us to be generals for him!"—and when counselled after the battle, he strenuously advised a retreat from the country. The events connected with the continuance at Moscow belong to the life of Mortier; but with the retreat from that city begin the immortal days of the life of Ney.

It was on the 19th of October, 1812, that Napoleon quitted Moscow for Kalouga, with more than one hundred thousand combatants, and announced his intention to return to Poland through that place, Meden, Youkno, Elnia, and Smolensk. After six days' march, the army reached Malo-Yaroslawitz, where the Russians under Kutusoff were established in an impregnable po-

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sition. An irregular but severe shock took place between the opposing forces, which seems to have inspired both with the terror of a defeat: for while Kutusoff retired to the southward, Napoleon determined to abandon the Kalouga road and regain that through Mojaisk. On the 28th, the army reached that city, and continued its retreat through Borodino, Gyatz, and Wiasma: at the latter place a severe engagement took place between Miloradowich, who commanded the van, and was called "the Russian Murat," and the retiring columns of the French under Eugene, Davoust, and Ney. Davoust had supported the retreat as far as Wiasma; from that place Ney alone protected it. The army under Napoleon advanced to Smolensk. On the 6th of November, the sky, which had been cloudless and bright, became overcast with a dense, cold fog, and in a few minutes the falling flakes of snow made it evident that the Russian winter had begun. On the same day intelligence of Mallet's conspiracy was received. Napoleon reached Smolensk on the 9th, and remained there till the 14th.

Orders had been sent to Ney at Wiasma to defend himself long enough to allow some repose to the main body of the army at Smolensk; and that great officer, whose moral feeling had a sublimity and an endurance commensurate with the ardor of his temper, felt the demands of the occasion, and rose to an equality with them. A profound sentiment of duty seemed to elevate his character above mortal weakness, and to banish every personal consideration and every petty sentiment. For ten days he retired slowly, fighting every hour, from Wiasma to Smolensk. On the 14th, the grand army, which had left Moscow above one hundred thousand strong, and was now reduced to thirty-six

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thousand, began to pass out of Smolensk : in twenty-five days it had lost sixty-four thousand men, and abandoned three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. Notwithstanding that Kutusoff, pressing on every side, threatened the extinction of every detached body, the emperor appointed that himself, Eugene, Davoust, and Ney, should leave Smolensk on successive days. Ney was to remain till the 16th or 17th, and then to blow the city up. At five o'clock on the morning of the 14th, the imperial guard, with Napoleon, left Smolensk for Krasnoe : Kutusoff, with ninety thousand men, covered the road, and through them this terrible march was to be made. It was a continued contest and a ceaseless slaughter, but Krasnoe was reached. The Russians, however, were now interposed between the guard and the residue of the army.

On the 15th, Eugene, with eight thousand men, set out from Smolensk, and, after great loss, arrived at Krasnoe on the 17th. Davoust arrived the next day ; but Ney remained behind. It was impossible to wait for him, and with infinite regret the emperor ordered the army to continue its advance to Liady and Orcha. Napoleon marched on foot, with a stick in his hand, walking with difficulty, and halting every quarter of an hour, as if unwilling to leave his old companion-in-arms to his fate ; every moment the name of Ney escaped from his lips with exclamations of grief. On the 19th, at Dombrowna, Napoleon received intelligence that Minsk, his retreat, his only hope, was taken, the Russians having entered it on the 16th. "Very well," he replied, "we have now nothing to do but to clear ourselves a passage with our bayonets." When they arrived at Orcha, Napoleon had six thousand guards,

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the remains of thirty-five thousand; Eugene had eighteen hundred men, the remains of forty-two thousand; and Davoust had four thousand remaining from a corps of seventy thousand! On the 20th, Napoleon, leaving Eugene, Mortier, and Davoust, at Orcha, to wait a little longer for Ney, advanced two leagues further, and then halted. Four days had passed without the slightest intelligence from him: every one concluded that his fate was settled, but none were willing to abandon all attempt to rescue him.

While the army thus waited in gloomy silence, suddenly the tramp of horses was heard, and the cry—"Marshal Ney is safe! here are some Polish cavalry come to announce his approach!" Ney was at hand, and had sent for assistance. Eugene's corps returned through a desert of snow to look for their lost comrades. They found one another by firing guns as signals: Eugene and Ney were the first to recognise each other, and embraced; the soldiers and officers of the two corps ran together and shook hands. When Napoleon, who was two leagues further on, heard that Ney had just reappeared, he leaped and shouted for joy, and exclaimed, "I would have given three hundred millions from my treasury sooner than have lost such a man!" The story of the retreat of that rear-guard forms a tale of horror and of glory such as human annals elsewhere have not to exhibit: but Ney, though performing his duty with a sublime devotion, retained a strong feeling of indignation at the treatment he had received in being deserted, especially by Davoust. When that marshal left him on the 16th, and sent to warn him of his danger, Ney replied, "All the Cossacks in the universe shall not prevent me from executing my instructions!"

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—and when he came up to Davoust at Orcha, he said to him with a severe look, "Monsieur le maréchal, I have no reproaches to make to you: God is our witness and your judge."

At Orcha the Dnieper was passed, and the army on the 22d advanced to the Bereniza, near Borizof, which was passed on the 26th and 27th. On the 29th, the emperor quitted its banks, and on the 3d of December, at Malo-djezno, announced his intention of proceeding at once and alone to Paris; and on the 5th, having taken leave of his marshals, and left Murat in command of the army, he set out with Duroc, Caulincourt, and Lobau, passed through Wilna and Warsaw, Silesia and Dresden, and arrived at Paris on the 19th of December, 1812.

On the 6th, after Napoleon's departure, the cold grew more intense; and the incapacity of Murat completed the disorganization of the army. The troops straggled into Wilna as they were able; but here their remorseless enemies the Russians were again upon them. Murat fled in consternation: he was seen forcing his way through the crowd from his palace and from Wilna, without giving any orders, but leaving everything in the hands of Ney. On the 10th, this heroic marshal, whose spirit alone, from the emperor to the common soldiers, was of grandeur equal to this calamity, and remained unbroken and unbent, left Wilna, having voluntarily taken upon himself again the conduct of the rear-guard. He covered the retreat as far as Evé. The rear-guard had consisted at first of two thousand, then of one thousand, afterward of five hundred, and finally of sixty men; at last, at Evé, when after stopping as usual to repulse the Russians, orders were given to resume the march,

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Ney and Wrede perceived that they were alone: the soldiers had fled irregularly to Kowno. Ney attempted to rally them in vain, and entered Kowno, the last town in Russia, alone, on the 13th. Murat gave directions for all the troops to rally on Gumbinnen, and fled thither himself; and a few hundred men, attacked with ceaseless pertinacity by the Cossacks, were crossing the Niemen on the bridge at that place. Ney, a man and a marshal to the last, rallied and organized the scattered troops, and defended the passage with order and heroism. He was the last of the grand army of Russia that left the country. A few days after, a man marched into the house of General Dumas at Gumbinnen, wrapped in a large pelisse, with a long beard half burned by fire, and his face begrimmed with gunpowder. "Who are you?" cried Dumas. "I am the REAR-GUARD OF THE GRAND ARMY," replied the uncouth stranger; "I am Marshal Ney!"

In the campaign of Saxony in 1813, Ney, who, for his valor at Borodino, had received the title of prince de la Moskowa, was placed at the head of the fourth and seventh corps of the army, chiefly conscripts, and the third corps of cavalry: and never were his valor and endurance more ably conspicuous than in the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen. So thoroughly, indeed, is he, next to the emperor, the hero of the operations previous to the armistice, that his life is a fit place for a succinct account of the campaign of 1813 in Saxony, till the armistice.

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CAMPAIGN OF 1813 IN SAXONY.

THE conscripts destined for the campaign of 1813 had been directed to assemble around Mayence, and Napoleon arrived there from Paris on the 17th of April, and remained for eight days, organizing his forces with a vigor and rapidity worthy of his best days of youthful energy. On the 25th, he arrived at Erfurt. The whole number of troops under his command throughout Germany was not less than four hundred thousand, many of whom, however, were in garrisons from the Vistula to the Elbe. The force upon which he might count for the present campaign amounted to about one hundred and forty thousand men, being Ney's corps of conscripts at Weimar, Oudinot's at Coburg, Marmont's at Gotha, and Bertrand's at Saalefield; besides forty thousand under Eugene at Magdeburg, consisting of Victor's, Lauriston's, and Macdonald's corps. This whole force, however, did not contain more than six thousand horse and three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon.

On the 28th, Napoleon mounted his horse and began operations. "I will perform this campaign," said he, "as General Bonaparte, and not as emperor;"—and from that time till the armistice, he made all his marches on horseback, and did not enter his carriage. His purpose was to effect a junction with the other corps; and the troops under his command therefore advanced from Erfurt through Eckartsberg to Naumberg, while Ney's advanced to Weissenfels, and Eugene, advancing up the Saale, crossed at Merseburg; and on the 30th, the forces thus in communication moved toward

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the enemy, consisting of the allied Prussians and Russians, who occupied the line of the Elbe. Napoleon crossed the Saale at Weissenfels on the 30th of April, and on the following day advanced on the great road through Lutzen to Leipsig: Marmont's corps was in the van, Bertrand's and Oudinot's corps were in the centre, the imperial guards were in the rear, and Ney's corps of conscripts was on the right at Kaia, between Lutzen and Pegau. At the same time, Eugene and Macdonald were advancing by Merseburg on the other side, toward Leipsig.

The allies meanwhile had crossed the Elster, near Pegau early on the 2d of May, for the purpose of giving battle on the plains of Lutzen; and about two o'clock, Napoleon, upon the high-road, heard a violent firing upon his extreme right, which convinced him that the enemy had suddenly fallen upon that wing. He remained silent and thoughtful for a few moments, and then ordering the whole army to face about to the right and march back upon Lutzen, he rode hastily toward the village of Kaia, which was the principal point of attack. This is one of a cluster of villages on the plain between Lutzen and Pegau, and there the Prussian general Ziethen had begun the battle by a furious charge with two brigades, by which one of Ney's divisions was driven out, and the villages themselves set on fire. Ney then brought up three other divisions and regained the lost positions at the point of the bayonet; but Wittgenstein, leading forward his second line, with a formidable battery in front, swept the French out of all the villages, disordered the troops, who for the most part were conscripts, and drove the whole French line back a mile and a half.

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It was now six o'clock, and the reserves of the allied army were advancing to complete the victory, when Napoleon arrived. He immediately re-formed Ney's divisions behind Kaia, and ordered them, with Count Lobau at their head, again to engage the Prussians. The emperor's presence inspired the utmost enthusiasm in these young soldiers: they engaged with furious obstinacy, and the delay which their devoted courage effected, enabled Napoleon to retrieve the day. For Marmont's and Bertrand's corps now arriving, gave the French a preponderance in numbers; and the imperial guard, with Napoleon at its head, had time to form behind Kaia as a reserve. Wittgenstein, as a last effort, ordered a flank attack of artillery, which produced some effect; but all his reserves were engaged. Napoleon saw that the decisive moment had now arrived, and ordered the imperial guard to advance. This immense and irresistible column, preceded by sixty pieces of artillery under General Drouot, and followed by the reserve cavalry, moved slowly forward. The villages were speedily carried; the fatigued Prussians, fighting valiantly, were driven back in all directions, and in a short time the whole line was in retreat. Meanwhile, Eugene, coming up from Leipsig, fell upon their extreme right, and completed their defeat. The French loss was seventeen thousand, and that of the allies fifteen thousand; but the victory gained by Napoleon with such an army, when attacked by surprise, and in a manner so disadvantageous, ought to be ranked as among his most felicitous achievements. The allies had twenty thousand splendid cavalry, and Napoleon not more than four thousand; but, by throwing the infantry into squares, with artillery at the angles,

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this superiority was counteracted and overcome. On the following day the allies retired in good order to Dresden, and thence, on the 7th, to an entrenched position at Bautzen. On the 9th, Napoleon entered Dresden, and a few days after had the pride of restoring his devoted ally the king of Saxony to his capital and throne.

The allied forces, amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand, had taken up a strong position on the Spree at Bautzen, and behind it as far as Wurschen and Hochkirch, and were commanded by the emperor Alexander in person, with whom was the king of Prussia. This position, defended in front by the Spree, extended in a semicircular direction for two leagues, from the mountains of Bohemia on the extreme left, to the village of Klix on the right; it was covered with villages, which were strongly occupied, and with numerous knolls, which were crowned with artillery. Napoleon's plan was, to turn the position by its extreme right: and accordingly, Ney, who, with seventy thousand men, had crossed the Elbe at Torgau, on the road to Berlin, was directed on the 17th to turn upon his right and attack the enemy's position in flank, as soon as the main body of the army should be engaged in front.

On the 18th, the emperor left Dresden; on the following day a disaster occurred, in the rout of Bertrand's corps, which was moving laterally across the allied position to communicate with Ney, and was assailed by Barclay de Tolly, and dispersed with great loss. On the 20th, the whole army, under a violent cannonade from the allied batteries, crossed the river: Oudinot passed at Grubschutz, and assailed their left among the mountains; Macdonald passed at Bautzen, and occupied that town, which was evacuated; and Marmont

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crossed a little lower, and advanced against their centre. To conceal his design against their right, Napoleon accumulated an immense force upon their left and centre. During the afternoon the battle raged in those quarters with the most furious obstinacy. The enemy were compelled to give ground in the centre, but night closed without a decisive result; and the contest remained suspended till the following day.

At five o'clock on the 21st, Oudinot, on the French right, renewed the attack with great spirit, in order to withdraw the attention of the enemy. Alexander, however, during the night had collected a strong force on that wing, and Oudinot was driven back, until Macdonald, who had been ordered to support him, arrived and checked the progress of the enemy. A terrible cannonade was then ordered by Napoleon on the centre; and from his headquarters at Bautzen he waited patiently until the sound of Ney's guns on the left gave the signal of the success of his movement. That faithful soldier had crossed the Spree the night before, and at an early hour advanced with part of his force against Barclay, who commanded on the allied right, while Victor and Lauriston took a wider circuit, and came up in the rear of that wing. The village of Preilitz was carried, which was behind the right of the centre, where Blucher commanded, and the allied army was in imminent danger of being divided and completely destroyed. Blucher, however, alive to the importance of the movement, instantly detached a powerful force, regained Preilitz, and arrested the advance of Ney in time to allow an orderly and regular retreat.

The victory was now gained. The allies retired throughout the entire plain, and Napoleon ordered the

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whole line of his army to advance. But the enemy, though driven out of their position, and defeated, were not broken or routed: they defended their retreat by constant skirmishes and combats, which gave the army opportunity to move off. At Reichenbach, on the 22d, an encounter with their rear-guard occurred, and another at Makersdorf, where Duroc was killed; and on the 26th, at Hainau, an engagement terminated unfavorably to the French. The allies retired to a position between Leignitz and Schweidnitz; and on the 4th of June, an armistice, which had been under consideration some days before, was concluded at Pleowitz for six weeks. Napoleon, on the 10th of June, arrived at Dresden. This armistice he spoke of at St. Helena as the ruin of his affairs: when it terminated, Austria, who had long been wavering, was among the allied host who stood ready to overwhelm him.

At the battle of Dresden, Ney was foremost in the fury of the assaults which, for the last time, gave terror to the name of Napoleon. Soon after, he was placed at the head of that *corps d'armée* which was in front of Berlin, and which had recently been defeated under Oudinot at Gross Beeren. In this command Ney was signally vanquished by Bernadotte at Dennewitz, on the 6th of September. Afterward, at Leipsig, he was the general-in-chief of that branch of the army which was opposed to Blucher on the 16th and 18th of October; and though overpowered, he displayed his usual hardihood and courage.

But though Ney, from a sentiment of duty and pride, continued thus to give his best energies to the emperor, he had, since the campaign of Moscow, never ceased

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to entertain a strong feeling of indignation at that ceaseless and indomitable ambition which sacrificed everything to itself, and threatened to render the war eternal. In March and April, 1814, at Fontainebleau, Ney was one of the earliest and most earnest of the marshals in manifesting his opinion that it was necessary the emperor should abdicate. "Are we to sacrifice everything to one man?" he exclaimed; "are we to give up prosperity, station, honors, and life itself? It is time to think a little of ourselves, our families, and our interests." While Macdonald continued stoutly to maintain the interests of his master, Ney, weak and vacillating in counsel, had fully given in to the cause of the Bourbons; and announced that, to avoid a civil war, no course remained but to embrace the cause of the ancient kings. "You will see," said he, upon approaching the comte d'Artois on the 12th of April, "you will see with what fidelity we can serve our legitimate king." He was received with kindness by Louis, who confirmed to him all his titles and pensions, and created him a peer of France. But the soldier who had never hesitated or turned back in the field, was destined soon to give to the Bourbons as striking an evidence of the disloyalty of weakness as he thus gave in regard to his old master and benefactor.

When the emperor reappeared in the following year, and landed at Cannes, Ney was especially vehement in denouncing the folly and wickedness of the attempt; and so earnest did his fidelity to the Bourbons show itself in words, that he was intrusted with the command of the army which was assembling for the defence of the throne against this solitary invader. "Sire," said Ney to the king, when he took leave of him on the 7th

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of March, to assume command of this army — "I will bring Bonaparte to you in an iron cage." When he arrived at Lons-le-Saulnier, where the troops were assembled, he found himself in the midst of other influences. The people of the surrounding provinces were enthusiastic in favor of the emperor; the soldiers were eager to join the imperial standard, which was associated with all their glories; Napoleon's proclamations revived the passions of bygone years. At this moment the emperor, who had just quitted Lyons, wrote to Ney that he must immediately march with his troops to join him. Confused and overpowered, this child of the Revolution, impulsive and variable, yielded to the torrent, and abandoned the cause which he had so eagerly assumed to maintain. On the 13th, he issued the following order of the day: "Officers and soldiers! the cause of the Bourbons is irrecoverably lost! That legitimate dynasty, which the French nation has chosen for itself, is again about to assume the throne: to the emperor Napoleon, our sovereign, alone, it belongs to reign over this beautiful country. What is it to us whether the Bourbon nobility choose to remain among us, or again to emigrate? The sacred cause of our liberty and independence shall no longer be blasted by their presence. They have endeavored in vain to wither our military laurels. Those laurels are the growth of noble toils, which are engraven for ever in our recollection. Soldiers! the time is gone by when men are to be governed by stifling their voices: liberty, at last, triumphs, and Napoleon, our august emperor, is about to establish it for ever. Let this noble cause henceforth be the concern of all true Frenchmen; let all the brave men whom I command be persuaded of

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that great truth. Soldiers! I have often led you to victory: I am now about to unite you to that immortal phalanx which Napoleon is leading to Paris; it will arrive there in a few days, and there our hopes and happiness will be firmly established."

This order was read at the head of the army by the commander himself, who had gained that post in consequence of his ardent professions of enmity to Napoleon's project, and to whom the Bourbons had intrusted the defence of their dynasty; and when it was ended, the marshal waved his sabre in the air, and shouted, "*Vive l'empereur!*" In a transport of enthusiasm, the whole army responded to the appeal with unbounded delight. Ney then, remembering the events of Fontainebleau, wrote to the emperor, informing him that in his recent conduct he had been guided by a view to the interests of the country; and that, being satisfied that he had forfeited all claim to Napoleon's confidence, he begged permission to retire from the service. The emperor again wrote, desiring him to come to him without delay, and saying that he would receive him as he did the day after the battle of the Moskowa. Ney presented himself to the emperor with much embarrassment, and said that as, after what had occurred, Napoleon must of necessity entertain doubts of his attachment and fidelity, he solicited no other rank than that of a grenadier in the imperial guard. "Certainly," said the emperor, afterward relating these circumstances, "he had behaved very ill to me: but how could I forget his brilliant courage, and the many acts of heroism that had distinguished his past life? I rushed forward to embrace him, calling him the *brave of the brave;* and from that moment we were reconciled."

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Ney commanded the left wing of the army which fought at Quatre Bras; and to his tardiness in executing the orders he had received to move forward, Napoleon attributed the want of success on that day. At Waterloo he was charged with the conduct of the grand attack against the enemy's centre, and led the second column of the imperial guard in the final attack. And though there was no want of fidelity in his conduct at this battle, Napoleon complained that his energy and decision were gone. After the battle, Ney appeared in the chamber of peers at Paris, and, describing the actual state of the army, announced the utter and irretrievable defeat of the emperor. After the capitulation of Paris, he took refuge in Auvergne, where he was arrested under the royal ordinance, as one of the authors of the revolution of the 20th March. He was conducted to Paris, and, after a short confinement in the Conciergerie, was brought before a council of war, composed of marshals of France and of lieutenant-generals. Marshal Moncey was named president of the council; but in a letter to the king, which breathes sentiments that ought to consecrate his name to perpetual honor, he refused to take part in the proceedings. "At the terrible passage of the Bérésina," he says in this manly and indignant communication, "Ney saved the wreck of the army. My life, my fortune, all my possessions, however cherished, are my country's and my king's: my honor is my own, and no human power shall despoil me of it. Who, I, pronounce upon the fate of Marshal Ney? Permit me, sire, to inquire from your majesty where were the accusers of Ney when Ney was fighting the battles of his country? If Russia and the allies can not pardon the conqueror of the

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Moskowa, ought France to forget the hero of the Bérésina? And shall I consign to death the man to whom so many Frenchmen are indebted for life — to whom so many families owe their sons, their husbands, or their fathers?" This energetic remonstrance was rewarded by three months' imprisonment; and Marshal Jourdan succeeded, by seniority, to the office of president, which he accepted. Ney's advocates, Dupin and Berryer, successfully insisted upon the incompetency of the tribunal; and his trial was transferred, by virtue of a royal ordinance, to the court of peers, where the ministers asked for his condemnation *in the name of Europe.* It was strongly urged that Ney was protected by the capitulation of Paris; but after fifteen sittings, he was condemned to death on the 6th of December, 1815, by a majority of one hundred and nineteen to forty-one. On the following day, he was conducted into the gardens of the Luxembourg, near the wall of the palace, and a platoon of veterans were drawn up to execute the fatal sentence. Ney received from the curate of Saint-Sulpice the last consolations of religion, and met his fate with that personal fortitude which went far to redeem the political weakness of his character. Standing erect, with his right hand upon his heart, his hat being in the other hand, he turned toward the soldiers, and gave the command to fire: "Comrades, fire upon me!" He received ten balls, and fell lifeless. His body was delivered to his family, and was afterward buried in the Père la Chaise, where his monument still witnesses the sympathy or contempt of the passers-by.

The person of Marshal Ney exhibited that robust and iron hardihood which constituted the characteristic of his temper. He was tall, well-proportioned, with a mil-

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itary carriage, and of a conformation that denoted great strength and vigor. His features were strongly marked, and readily assumed the expression of the passion which happened to be dominant in his breast. A prominent chin gave an air of resolution to his countenance. His complexion was somewhat pale, and in early life his large and elevated forehead was covered profusely with hair of a fiery red, which led the soldiers to give him the names of "the Red Lion" and "Peter the Red." When the thunder of his cannon was heard along the battle-field, the men would exclaim among themselves, "Courage! the Red Lion is coming: all will go well, for there comes Peter the Red!" In later life, the exposure which he had suffered rendered him almost bald.

The character and fame of Ney are fixed in immortal brilliance and truth, in the title which the emperor gave him of "*le brave des braves.*" At another time, he described this marshal as possessing a spirit "*trempée d'acier.*" But, while speaking of his courage as unlimited and inexhaustible, Napoleon always described his judgment as worthless. He never classed him among good generals; and put him in the same rank with Murat, as one whose intelligence bore no proportion to his valor. "Ney," said he to Las Casas, "is the bravest of men; but every other faculty is subordinate to his courage." On another occasion he said, "Murat and Ney were commonplace kind of generals, having no recommendation save personal courage." A candid and careful military writer of high repute has drawn his portrait, as a man "notoriously indolent, and unlearned in the abstract science of war. It was necessary for him to see, in order to act, and

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his character seemed to be asleep until some imminent danger aroused all the marvellous energy and fortitude with which Nature had endowed him." On the field of battle, however, his talents were considerable; his *coup d'œil*, in particular, was piercing and accurate. His temper was quick, passionate, and somewhat violent. The best quality in his military career was the attention which he always paid to the comfort and safety of his soldiers.

The splendid heroism which Ney displayed in the field, conciliates our admiration for a character which, if viewed apart from scenes of battle, seems but little imbued with heroic sentiment, elevated feeling, loyal fidelity, or manly truth. Napoleon appears to have apprehended his nature with entire accuracy. "Murat and Ney," said he, "were the bravest men I ever witnessed. Murat, however, was a much nobler character than Ney: Murat was generous and open; Ney partook of the *canaille*."

The father of Marshal Ney, the old cooper of Sarre-louis, survived his son many years, and died in 1826, at the age of nearly a hundred. He loved the marshal with affection and pride; and, from motives of tenderness, the fatal events of 1815 were never communicated to him. The mourning-dress of his daughter with whom he lived, and of her children, indicated to him, however, that some great misfortune had befallen the family. He never asked what it was, but was observed to fall into a deep melancholy ever after, and seldom pronounced the name of his son.

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PONIATOWSKI.

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JOSEPH ANTHONY PONIATOWSKI.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, OCTOBER 16, 1813.

PRINCE OF POLAND.

Joseph Anthony, Prince Poniatowski, son of Andrew Poniatowski, staroste of Poland, and of Theresa de Kinski, his wife, and nephew of Stanislaus Augustus, king of Poland, was born at Warsaw, on the 7th of May, 1762. Entering the Austrian service, as sub-lieutenant, in 1779, he became a colonel of dragoons, and aide-de-camp of Joseph the Second, in 1787, and served in the Austrian war against Turkey. He afterward obtained a command in the Polish army, but, on the accession of Stanislaus to the confederation of Targowitz, he left the service. In 1792 he again entered it as a simple volunteer, and served against Russia with such zeal and ability, that Kosciusko gave him the command of a division. During the two sieges of Warsaw, his gallantry and patriotism won for him the admiration of his countrymen. Upon the surrender of that capital, he went to Vienna. Catherine and Paul offered him a position in the Russian army, which he declined. He afterward lived in retirement upon his estate, near Warsaw, until the campaign of 1806 and 1807, when he received the command of a corps of the French army. Under the treaty of Tilsit, in the

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latter year, the Prussian provinces of Poland were erected into a separate principality, called the grand-duchy of Warsaw, and given to the king of Saxony. Poniatowski, under this regime, became minister of war. In the campaign of 1809, he exhibited an ability and firmness, which raised his military character to a high level. He had the command of the Polish army in the grand-duchy of Warsaw, when the archduke Ferdinand invaded it, at the head of forty thousand men, at the same time that Charles crossed the Inn. The prince, with the patriotism of a Pole, and the courage of a soldier, drew up his troops, amounting to not more than fifteen thousand men, near Raszyn, and on the 19th of April, 1809, the hostile armies engaged. Notwithstanding the great disproportion of the numbers engaged, the contest was protracted for several hours, but Poniatowski was at length compelled to retire with considerable loss. On the 21st, Warsaw capitulated; and the prince, accompanied by the senate, and principal inhabitants of the city, withdrew to the right bank of the Vistula, and ascended that stream toward Gallicia. Ferdinand soon after moved toward Thorn, and Poniatowski, learning that an Austrian division had crossed the Vistula, and lay near Gora, suddenly fell upon it, routed it and captured one thousand five hundred prisoners. The enemy had supposed that he would retire into Saxony, and abandon the grand-duchy; and his resolute adherence to his country, rendered great service to Napoleon, and drew forth his warm commendation. After this campaign, he resumed his duties as minister of war; and, in 1811, he was sent to Paris as an envoy-extraordinary.

In 1812, the invasion of Russia held out to the

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country of the prince, a promise of restoration, and to himself, the prospect of a throne; yet, with that integrity and truthfulness of mind and heart, which made him truly worthy of his lineage, he used his utmost endeavors to convince Napoleon of the danger and inexpediency of the expedition. When it was decided upon, he received the command of the fifth corps of the army, consisting of thirty-six thousand men, and crossed the Niemen on the 24th of June. He was distinguished throughout the expedition by his gallantry and conduct, and rendered important service. At the battle of Borodino, he commanded the right, which was destined to turn the Russian left wing: at Winkowa, where Murat was defeated, he sustained the right wing, and made a glorious resistance. He shared manfully in the toils and sufferings of this retreat; and, such had been his loss, that, on the 14th of November, at Smolensk, his splendid corps was reduced to eight hundred men.

In the campaign of 1813, he appeared as general-in-chief of the Polish army; and, as the battle of Leipsig, where he won the baton of marshal of the French empire, and met with a splendid death, is the greatest scene of his glory, it is proper here to give a general view of the

CAMPAIGN OF 1813, IN SAXONY, AFTER THE ARMISTICE.

The armistice expired on the night of the 10th of August. The period of repose had been diligently employed on both sides in assembling troops, and organizing means for the ensuing contest. Napoleon had determined to make the Elbe the centre of his position, and, accordingly, Koenigstein, Dresden, Torgau, Mag-

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deburg, and Hamburg, covering a line from Bohemia to the ocean, were fortified and strongly occupied. His whole force consisted of nearly four hundred thousand men, with one thousand two hundred pieces of cannon; and it was disposed as follows: On the extreme left, Davoust was at Hamburg, with forty thousand French and Danes; near Magdeburg, Oudinot had ninety thousand men; St. Cyr, Vandamme, and Poniatowski, were in Bohemia with seventy thousand; and the residue, amounting to one hundred and forty thousand, together with the guard, which was fifty thousand, were under his own orders, between Dresden and Leignitz. The allied forces were yet more numerous; Bernadotte, with thirty thousand Swedes, and as many Hanoverians, was at Berlin, and opposed to Oudinot; Blucher was at the head of eighty thousand men, in Silesia; while an immense host, consisting of two hundred and twenty thousand Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, were concentrated in Bohemia, under command of Prince Schwartzenberg, attended by the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia, and by General Moreau, who had just arrived from America. This immense force was accumulated in Bohemia for the purpose of turning Napoleon's line by its left, and approaching Dresden along the left bank of the Rhine. This plan of operations has called out much admiration; but, though plausible and brilliant, it was, in fact, delusive and absurd. The idea of *turning* an army of four hundred thousand men, with a line of operations like the Elbe, covered with fortified cities, was an impracticable and unscientific conception. The manœuvre was not applicable in such circumstances. You *turn* an army, or a position, when you interrupt or endanger its com-

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munication with its base of operations, or with its reserves or supplies: but a fortified line like the Elbe, was as good a base as France itself would have been, and, with an army of nearly half a million to guard it, it was a matter of indifference whether the enemy approached it upon one bank or the other. The allies, in turning such a position, became turned themselves in the same moment, and gave Napoleon an opportunity of taking them in the rear, and cutting off their communications.

The allies, it will be seen, were thus in a circle around the French emperor, who occupied a central position in their midst, and determined to renew, on a great scale, that system of rapid concentration at successive points which had proved so successful in the campaigns in Italy and the campaign about Eckmuhl. His design was to fall upon Blucher in the first instance; and though he contemplated the advance of the allies from Bohemia into Saxony as a probable event, he felt assured that he could return to Dresden in time to give battle under its walls with superior force. On the 17th, he left Dresden and arrived at Gorlitz, where he was joined by Murat from Naples; and from there, he came on the morning of the 19th to Zittau, where he passed in review a part of the eighth corps, commanded by Prince Poniatowski. The prince, an excellent cavalry officer, presented to him the newly-organized Polish Cossacks, and expressed himself in the emperor's presence with a simplicity and frankness which advantageously distinguished him from other generals. To an intrepid courage and extreme benignity, he added a great complacency, even toward his inferiors, which never forsook him. His noble carriage

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and military talents appeared to have made a deep and favorable impression on Napoleon; for he assumed an open style of manner toward him, and addressed him in a very different way from that in which he spoke to his other generals. "How do you support your right?" said he, eying the prince attentively, who explained the nature of his position and showed that it had been well chosen. Napoleon then advanced into Silesia against Blucher. This able commander had driven Ney and Macdonald before him on the 18th and 19th, but retired again as Napoleon advanced. Meanwhile, on the 22d, the allied army, amounting to nearly two hundred thousand, poured down from Bohemia, and advanced on Freyberg and Dohna; and on the 25th, one hundred and twenty thousand men were before the gates of Dresden. Napoleon was informed of this movement, at Lowenberg, on the 23d, and giving the command of the army of Silesia to Macdonald, he instantly returned with the guards and reserve cavalry to Gorlitz, and arrived, at ten o'clock on the morning of the 26th, at the palace of the king of Saxony, in Dresden, just as they were there debating as to the surrender of the city. In a short time, the troops which he had thus rapidly conducted began to flow into the city like a torrent; the guards and the cuirassiers, amounting to sixty thousand men, arrived about noon. At four o'clock, the allies, who were in immense force around the city, and had constructed formidable batteries, advanced to the attack of the city in three great divisions: Wittgenstein leading the right, a combined Prussian and Austrian corps in the centre, and Prince Maurice of Lichtenstein advancing on the left. A furious assault took place: the redoubts in the centre and right were car-

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ried, and the suburbs gained by the gate of Pirna and by that on the side of Plauen. Napoleon remained quiescent until about seven o'clock, when the arrival of the young guard encouraged him to make a sortie. The gate of Plauen was then thrown open, and the old guard, headed by Ney, and followed by Murat and his cavalry, rushed forward in an irresistible stream, swept the assailants before them, and passing the suburbs, formed into line on the road to Freyberg; at the same time, the young guard issued forth against the Austrian centre and regained the great redoubt; and Mortier, sallying from the Pirna gate on the left, cleared the suburbs in that quarter. The allies, thinking that the day had been gained, were taken completely by surprise at this terrible onset: they withdrew their forces, and both parties prepared for a great battle on the following day. During the evening, Marmont's and Victor's corps arrived, and Napoleon had now about him one hundred and twenty thousand men, of whom twenty thousand were well-tried cavalry. On the following morning, in the midst of a violent rain, the respective forces were disposed in the following manner: The allies formed a large semicircle, extending from the Elba almost to Priesnitz; their right, consisting of Russians and Prussians under Wittgenstein and Kleist, was on the Pirna road; the centre, under Schwartzenberg, occupied the heights between Strehlen and Plauen; while the left, beyond Plauen, consisted of Austrian infantry. Opposite to this wing stood the French right, composed of Victor's corps, with the cavalry commanded by Murat behind them; in the centre, supported by the redoubts, were Marmont's and St. Cyr's corps, with the old guard in reserve, commanded by Napoleon in

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person; and on the left Ney commanded, with the young guard and Kellermann's dragoons. The attack commenced with brilliant success on the French right: Murat advanced by a circuitous movement, which the violent rain prevented the enemy from discovering, and appeared at the head of fourteen thousand horse on the plain on the flank and rear of the Austrian left wing, while Victor's columns advanced in front: three fourths of this division were killed or made prisoners. On the French left, Ney advanced with an overwhelming force, and Wittgenstein's advanced lines were carried. The allied commander-in-chief was about to order up the reserve to that point, when a cannon-shot struck General Moreau, who was chiefly guiding the battle by his counsel, and carried off both his legs. It was then determined to retreat, and accordingly, toward the night, the whole allied army drew off toward Bohemia, actively pursued by the French, and falling soon into confusion and disorder. Their loss on this day was twenty-five thousand killed and wounded, and thirteen thousand prisoners, besides eighteen standards and twenty-six cannon.

Napoleon felt, and had a right to feel, exultation and hope; but while brilliant victory attended his arms where he appeared in person, a succession of disasters befell his generals in all other directions. Vandamme, upon whom he relied to act with decisive force upon the rear of the allies, was defeated at Culm on the 29th and 30th; Macdonald, in Silesia, was defeated by Blucher at the Katzbach, on the 26th; and Oudinot by Bernadotte, at Gross Beeren, on the 21st. On the 4th of September, Napoleon marched against Blucher; but the marshal retired before him, and he returned to

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Dresden a few days after. On the 6th, the heaviest disaster of all occurred, in the defeat of Ney by Bernadotte at Dennewitz. About the same time the allies again advanced from Bohemia, and Napoleon instantly put himself at the head of his troops and marched to meet them, but they retired as soon as he approached. A number of indecisive operations followed, until, on the 7th of October, leaving St. Cyr in Dresden, Napoleon, with the rest of his army, set out to deliver the blow against Berlin which he had long meditated. On the 12th, however, he received intelligence of the enforced defection of the king of Bavaria, and all hope of accomplishing the brilliant operations which he had meditated was destroyed; and on the 15th, he marched back to Leipsig, whither the allies had advanced on the 6th. On the 16th, Napoleon's army occupied two distinct positions: one at Mockern, on the northeast of Leipsig, where Marshals Ney and Marmont, with fifty thousand men, were opposed to Blucher with fifty-six thousand; and the other about the heights of Wachau, on the southeast, where Napoleon in person, with one hundred and ten thousand men, of whom eighteen thousand were cavalry, was opposed to the grand allied army under Schwartzenberg, amounting to one hundred and forty-three thousand men, twenty-five thousand of whom were cavalry. At an early hour in the morning, Schwartzenberg's army advanced to the attack, and a tremendous cannonade from six hundred guns, by which his columns were preceded, enabled him at first to gain some advantage. Their progress, however, was arrested for a time by a flank attack by Macdonald; and about noon, Napoleon prepared for a powerful attack upon their centre. The young guard

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under Oudinot, and Victor's corps, were drawn up in column, and preceded by the sixty guns of guard under General Drouot, as at Wagram, moved forward and carried everything before them. Napoleon sent word to the king of Saxony that the battle was gained. But the resources of the allies were not yet exhausted. The Russian grenadiers, whose attack had been felt so signally at Eylau and Friedland, were brought up; the advancing column was checked, and Napoleon was obliged to order up the reserve cavalry under Latour-Maubourg and Kellermann. These irresistible horsemen rushed forward, and at first everything gave way before them; but the Austrian reserve was now in the field, and after an obstinate contest the French column fell back. A last effort was made by Napoleon toward evening, by forming Victor's and Lauriston's corps into column, and launching them forward with a numerous artillery in front: a powerful Russian battery, however, repelled this assault. Soon after, the Austrian general, Count Meerfeldt, advanced upon the French right flank, but being surrounded by the old guard and by Poniatowski's Poles, his whole battalion and himself were made prisoners. Napoleon sent him back with proposals, to which, however, no reply was received for several days. Night terminated this terrible struggle, in which fifteen thousand on each side were killed, without decisive result to either party. On the north, the same day, Ney was defeated and driven in by Blucher. At the close of the fight, Napoleon conferred the dignity of marshal of France upon Prince Poniatowski, in testimony of the valor which he had exhibited in the engagement. On the 17th, Bernadotte, with important auxiliaries, arrived in the allied camp; and all of Napo-

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leon's reserves were brought up. During the night, Napoleon made a complete change in the line of his army, to accommodate it to the more contracted position which it was necessary to occupy: the right remaining fixed as a pivot on the Elster, the left was thrown back, so as to rest on the Partha.

On the morning of the 18th, the French army, amounting to about one hundred and seventy thousand men, stood to arms against the attack of nearly double the number of allied troops, making in all about half a million of men, engaged in this "battle of giants." The French centre occupied the village of Probstheyde, where Murat commanded the corps of Victor and Augereau; Macdonald and Lauriston, constituted the left wing of the army, under Napoleon in person, and were in the villages of Holzhausen and Stetteritz, behind the line of the centre: Marshal Prince Poniatowski, commanded the right wing on the Elster, and occupied Doelitz and Connewitz: and the guard, under Napoleon, were near a snuff-manufactory, in the suburbs, whence they could hasten to any point which was specially menaced. On the extreme left, on the Partha, but so separated as to constitute another army, Ney and Regnier were opposed to Blucher. About nine o'clock, the allies advanced, drove in all the advanced posts, and occupied the heights in front of the city, in immense force. A violent assault was first made upon the French right, where Poniatowski commanded the eighth corps of the army; but the valor and obstinate endurance of that hero, were incapable of repulse. "Prince Poniatowski," says the Baron Odeleben, "had the most difficult point to defend, but he fully justified, by his boundless courage, the high

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confidence which the emperor had reposed in him His little corps of infantry, reduced to five thousand, and, at last, to two thousand seven hundred men, performed prodigies of valor." The emperor, seeing him severely pressed, brought up two divisions of the young guard to his aid, and remained with that wing an hour, until he was satisfied that the danger in that quarter was over. He then rode over with the reserves of the old guard to the centre, where the allies had just carried part of Probstheyde, and were covering the plain toward Stetteritz. A tremendous cannonade, on both sides, had begun the battle in the centre, which was succeeded by a desperate charge, by Kleist's Prussians against Probstheyde. This was repulsed, but a second attack was more successful, and Napoleon arrived just in time to restore the contest. He pushed on with the greatest celerity, toward the most advanced ranks, filled up the vacancies with the guards which he brought with him, drove back the enemy and then returned to his original place of observation. On the left, however, between Stetteritz and Schœnfeld, the enemy had advanced and established themselves in an alarming position; and, intelligence arrived about noon that the Saxon artillery and cavalry had gone over to the enemy, and about three, that the infantry, also, had quitted their ranks. Napoleon then rode across the field toward the extreme left, where he found Ney and Regnier, whose dumb show, signs, and gesticulations, pointed out that the enemy's line were on the plain near Schœnfeld, and showed him too plainly that fortune was betraying all their exertions. He immediately returned to the centre, and brought up a detachment of the old guard, and a part of the cavalry of the guard, under Nansouty,

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into the vacancy caused by the defection of the Saxons. This checked the progress of the enemy, and, during the rest of the day, the engagement was reduced to a violent cannonade from both sides. On the part of the allies, eight hundred guns, favorably placed along the heights which surrounded the French army, poured down their ceaseless fire; on the part of Napoleon, five hundred guns, discharged with a rapidity that compensated for the inferiority of their number, replied with ceaseless fury. After six or seven hours of this tremendous roar from one thousand two hundred cannon, the French began to perceive that their ammunition failed. It is said that they had discharged two hundred thousand shot during the day. Napoleon ordered that it should be spared. The day closed, but the cannonade continued till an advanced period of the night. Silence, at last, succeeded, with a gloom yet more terrible than the excitement of the combat. Napoleon determined to retreat: there was but one outlet for the immense throng which was assembled around him, and over that, on the 19th, between daybreak and eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the army and its followers poured along in terrible confusion.

The assault of the city, by the allies, began at the same time, and Napoleon, to allow time for his army to escape over the Elster, ordered Poniatowski, Lauriston, and Macdonald, to form a rearguard, and defend the suburbs from house to house. "Prince," said Napoleon to the Polish hero, in assigning him this duty, "you will defend the southern suburb."—"Sire," he answered, "I have but few followers left."—"What of that?" said the emperor, "you will defend it with what you have."—"Ah, sire," replied the noble war-

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rior, "all of us are ready to die for your majesty." Amidst the material sublimity of this great scene of power and terror, the character and conduct of this princely soldier, assert the still superior grandeur of moral dignity and devotion. The hope of national independence, with which he had first drawn his sword, had been utterly destroyed; the confidence which he had placed in French protection had long been betrayed: but the native heroism of his spirit, and an exalting sentiment of loyalty, led him yet to do battle in the ranks of the emperor, with an energy and devotion which no motives of interest or ambition could have increased. In the actions about Leipsig, fifteen officers of his staff had been either killed or wounded; and he had, himself, been wounded on the 14th and 16th. His duty was to defend the suburb that lies nearest the Borna road, and he had but two thousand Polish infantry assigned to him for the purpose. With an obstinacy that astonished the advancing hosts, he defended the passages until the troops had passed; but, just as the rear-guard was about to retire, the bridge over the Elster was blown up. Lauriston, Regnier, and twenty other generals, with one thousand five hundred soldiers were made prisoners. Poniatowski, who had just received a musket-ball in his left arm, drew his sabre, and, turning to the officers who were around him, "Gentlemen," said he, "it is better to fall with honor;" and, at the head of his officers, and a few Polish cuirassiers, he rushed upon the advancing columns of the allies. They hastened forward to take him prisoner, but he cut his way through them, receiving a wound through his cross, and plunged into the Pleisse, which he crossed in safety, leaving his horse

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behind in the river. Though much exhausted, he mounted another, and, passing through M. Reichenbach's garden, he reached the Elster, which was already lined with Prussian riflemen. Seeing them advance toward him on all sides, he spurred his horse into the river. The banks at that part are steep, and, as the prince directed his steed up the declivity, the animal reared; he pulled the rein involuntarily, the horse fell backward, over him, and he was borne down by the current and drowned. He was in the fifty-second year of his age.

Such was the termination of the great campaign in Saxony, and such the memorable battle of Leipsig. Napoleon, unconquered in spirit, and unexhausted of mental resources, reorganized his retiring forces, and the battle of the forest of Hanau, on the 30th of October, gilded with a declining lustre, that great name, on which the sun of victory was about to set for ever.

The body of the heroic and unfortunate Polish marshal was found on the fifth day, October 24th, by a fisherman, and taken out of the water. He had gone to battle in his gala uniform; his epaulets, studded with diamonds, and his hands covered with rings set with brilliants. On the 26th, he was temporarily interred, at Leipsig, with the utmost distinction; and his funeral obsequies were again performed on the 19th of November, in the church of the Holy Cross, at Warsaw, with every ceremony of honor that national and public reverence could contribute. "Victors and vanquished," says De Vitry, "all the nations of Europe assisted at them, and forgot their enmity to mourn over the grave of Poniatowski."

A stone has been placed to mark the spot where the

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body of the prince was drawn from the river: and M. Reichenbach erected in his garden, on the bank whence the prince plunged into the river, a monument to his memory, consisting of a beautiful sarcophagus, surrounded by willows. Thorwalsden was commissioned to execute another monument, for his tomb at Warsaw. The prince left no issue, except a natural son.

"Poniatowski," said Napoleon, "was a noble character, full of honor and bravery. It was my intention to have made him king of Poland, had I succeeded in Russia."

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EMMANUEL GROUCHY.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, 1815, AND NOVEMBER 19, 1831.

MARQUIS OF GROUCHY.

THE name of Grouchy has become so odious to the admirers of Napoleon, that a long career of devoted service and unquestionable bravery has been forgotten in the misfortune or fault of a single day. In judging, however, of ability and of motives, in an occasion so doubtful as the affair at Waterloo, Grouchy is entitled to the benefit of his previous character, and that was one of the most ardent energy and the most active courage. Few men, indeed, could have been selected out of the French army, who would be thought more likely to execute any military duty with directness, fidelity, and zeal, than a soldier whose spirit and devotion had been illustrated in many a trying campaign, and in every country between Italy and Russia.

Emmanuel Grouchy, son of Francis James, marquis of Grouchy, was born at Paris, the 23d of October, 1766. He was educated to the artillery service at the school of Strasbourg, and became a lieutenant of artillery in 1781, a captain in 1784, and lieutenant-colonel and sub-lieutenant of the king's body-guards in 1786. In 1792, with the rank of colonel, he served in the army of the Alps, and in the Vendéan army in 1793. In

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1795, he was raised to the rank of general of division, and made chief of the general staff of the army of the west in 1795: in the following year, he formed part of the force destined for the invasion of Ireland; and in 1797, he received the command of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth military divisions of the same army. He served in Italy from 1798 to 1800, and at the battle of Novi, on the 15th of August, 1799, where his division formed part of the left under Perignon, he was especially distinguished for his enthusiastic courage. Finding his men disordered by the Austrian attack, he seized a standard and charged with it at the head of his troops; and when it was struck from his hand in the tumult, he rushed forward, holding up his helmet on his sword and cheering his men, till he was wounded and overwhelmed in the confusion and made a prisoner: and at the battle of Hohenlinden, on the 3d of December, he acquired, by his valor and endurance, the highest distinction. In 1800, he was transferred to the army of the Rhine; and in 1801, was appointed inspector-general of the cavalry, a post which he held until 1804. He served with increased distinction in Prussia and Poland in 1806 and 1807. In 1808, he was employed in Spain, and received the command of Madrid. In 1809, when Napoleon advanced to Vienna, General Grouchy served in Italy under the viceroy; and at the battle of Raab, on the 14th of June, where he commanded the heavy dragoons on the French right, he acquired a reputation of the most brilliant kind. Montbrun, commanding the light cavalry, had advanced to support a brigade of infantry, when a terrible column of Hungarian cavalry, seven thousand strong, moved rapidly forward and overwhelmed him; Grouchy, with

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his powerful horsemen, immediately came up, and charged the enemy with such fury that they were broken and driven completely in the rear. At the battle of Wagram, his valor at the head of a body of cuirassiers, under Davoust on the left, was not less conspicuous. In this year, he was created count and colonel-general of chasseurs. In the invasion of Russia, he commanded the third corps of cavalry of reserve, amounting to ten thousand men. At the battle of Borodino, "Grouchy, on his side," says Segur, "by sanguinary and repeated charges on the left of the great redoubt, secured the victory and scoured the plain." At the passage of the Beresina, on the retreat from Moscow, the emperor collected about his person all the officers of the cavalry who were yet mounted, and styled this troop, amounting to about five hundred, his sacred squadron: Grouchy and Sebastiani commanded it. In 1813 and 1814, he was again in command of cavalry. At the battle of Vauchamps, on the 14th of February, Grouchy's valor was conspicuous; and after the retreat of the Prussians, he performed a circuitous movement with a body of three thousand horsemen, by which he intercepted the retiring columns of Blucher, who were obliged to cut their way through his squadrons, with the loss of two regiments made prisoners, and a large number of soldiers killed. At the engagement of Craon, on the 7th of March, Grouchy was wounded. After the restoration of Louis XVIII., in the latter year, he was appointed inspector-general of the chasseurs and lancers. Upon Napoleon's return, he was created marshal of the empire during the "hundred days;" and when Napoleon organized the army of the Netherlands, Grouchy received the superior command of the 7th and 19th

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military divisions, and afterward of the four corps of the cavalry of reserve. His name is so strongly associated with the operations in 1815, that his biography appears to be the most appropriate place to introduce an account of—

THE CAMPAIGN OF WATERLOO.

On the morning of the 12th of June, 1815, Napoleon left Paris, and passing Soissons and Laon, arrived at Avesnes, on the evening of the 13th. On the night of the 14th, the French army, consisting of one hundred and twenty-two thousand, four hundred men, and three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, was distributed as follows: the left, amounting to forty-seven thousand men, was around Solze-sur-Sambre; the centre, sixty thousand strong, was at Beaumont, with the headquarters; and the right, of above fifteen thousand men, was in advance of Phillippeville. At the same time, the Prussians, under Blucher, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand men, in four corps, were cantoned as follows: the first corps, under General Zietten, was in advance of Fleurus; the second, under General Pirch, was before Namur; the third, under Thielman, was around Ciney; and the fourth, under Bulow, was in the rear at Liege. The English army, under the duke of Wellington, amounting in all to one hundred and four thousand men, of whom thirty-seven thousand were British, and sixty-seven thousand, Germans, Hollanders, and Flemings, were at Brussels, Nivelles, Gand, Grammont, and other neighboring places. The duke's headquarters were at Brussels, and Blucher's were at Namur; and

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it was arranged that in the event of an advance by the French, the English army should rally at Quatre-Bras, and the Prussian at Fleurus. At daybreak on the 15th, the three French columns commenced their march, and up to that moment, so secretly and rapidly had Napoleon's movements been made, that no knowledge of the intended attack existed at either the English or Prussian headquarters. Zietten was driven in with considerable loss, and Blucher immediately ordered all his troops to concentrate behind Fleurus; and the French advanced to Charleroi. Napoleon's plan of campaign was to fall upon Blucher with his whole army, and destroy him before the duke of Wellington could join him, and then to direct all his forces against the duke. Accordingly, the centre was pushed forward, on the night of the 15th, between Charleroi and Fleurus, while the left, commanded by Ney, was at Grosselies, with its vedettes upon Quatre-Bras. Blucher had assembled three corps behind Fleurus, his centre at Ligny, his right at St. Amand, and his left at Sombref, on the road to Namur. Ney was ordered to march, at daybreak on the 16th, in advance of Quatre-Bras, and take a strong position on the Brussels road, and when Blucher was well engaged in front, to fall upon his right flank and rear, and surround him. Everything depended upon this movement of Ney. At Ligny and St. Amand, the battle became general between two and three o'clock in the afternoon; the emperor remarked to Count Gerard, in giving him orders for the attack of the former village, "In three hours the fate of the war may be decided: if Ney executes his orders properly, not a cannon of the Prussians will escape: they are completely surprised." Ney, certainly, never exe-

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cuted the orders he had received, and the failure of the campaign may be attributed to that. Napoleon heaped the severest blame upon the marshal; but the fault really rested with the duke of Wellington: his movements had attached to the execution of Ney's orders a condition of impossibility.

As early as three o'clock, on the afternoon of the 15th, Wellington, at Brussels, was apprized that the French army, with Napoleon at their head, had entered Charleroi that morning, and were advancing upon Brussels. He instantly issued orders for the concentration of all his troops upon Quatre-Bras, went, in the evening, to a ball at the duchess of Richmond's, for the purpose of calming the alarm which began to prevail in the capital, and, at an early hour the next morning, rode over to Quatre-Bras. At that point, the prince of Orange's corps, ten thousand strong, was assembled at daybreak; Picton's division, and the Brunswickers, amounting to ten thousand more, arrived about two o'clock; soon after the duke came up with two other English divisions: and, toward evening the guns were upon the ground. Both armies became engaged about three o'clock; but, before they began, Wellington rode over to Blucher's headquarters, and concerted the movements which should take place on the next day. It was then arranged that the duke should retire to Waterloo, which he had long before noted as an admirable field of battle, and that Blucher should retire, not toward Namur, but by Wavres; and the Prussian field-marshal pledged himself to unite with his ally on the plains of Waterloo. The result of the battles of Quatre-Bras and Ligny, was indecisive: at the former, the duke had the advantage, and Ney

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retired in the evening; at the other point, Blucher, after an obstinate conflict, was routed; the veteran marshal, himself, unhorsed, and ridden over by a troop of cavalry. Being too much injured to mount his horse the next day, the retreat was conducted by Gneisenau, in the direction of Wavres. The duke of Wellington passed the night on the field of battle, and, on the 17th, retired through Genappe to Waterloo, where he took a position. Napoleon, having sent General Pajol, with a division of his light cavalry, and a division of infantry, followed by Marshal Grouchy, with thirty thousand men, to pursue the Prussians toward Wavres, and not to lose sight of them, set out with the rest of the army to follow Wellington. In describing the battle of Ligny, in his memoirs, Napoleon says that Marshal Grouchy, and Generals Exalmans, and Pajol, were distinguished by their intrepidity. No engagement between the hostile troops took place, except at Genappe, where a body of French lancers, pressing on the English rear-guard, which was commanded by Lord Uxbridge, were first attacked, ineffectually, by the seventh hussars, and then routed by the life-guards. Napoleon, seeing that there would be a great battle the next day, sent orders, in the evening, to Grouchy, to send part of his force, without delay, to join the grand army, and with the rest to follow the Prussians closely, and, if they entered Brussels, to bring his whole detachment to the field of battle.

The night of the 17th, and the morning of the 18th, were rainy: it cleared, however, after sunrise, and the English army was seen drawn up about Mont St. Jean. The whole force under Wellington, was about seventy-five thousand, of whom thirty-five thousand were Eng-

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lish, and it was drawn up as follows: the Brunswickers, Hanoverians, and Belgians, were in the centre, behind La Haye Sainte, with all the cavalry in their rear: Picton's and Clinton's divisions were on the left of that farm; the artillery was arranged along the whole front of the position; and, Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte, strongly occupied, the former by Byng's guards, and the latter by a division of the king's German legion. The force under Napoleon was about equal in numbers, but very superior in the character of the troops. The army was divided into eleven columns, and formed into three lines, the first two lines containing four columns each, and the third three. By half-past ten o'clock, these lines had taken up their positions. The principal attack was intended to be against the English left, or rather, their left centre; but it was to be prepared and disguised by a sharp attack against Hougoumont, on their right. The left centre was selected as the direction of attack, because it seemed weaker, and because success in that quarter would throw the English army off from the Prussians. The first line, accordingly, had two columns upon the left of the road to Charleroi, destined to act against Hougoumont; and two on its right intended for the attack upon the left. The column on the extreme left, consisted of the light cavalry of the second corps, which was on both sides of the road to Nivelles; next to it, on its right, and extending for one thousand toises, between the roads to Nivelles and Charleroi, were three divisions of infantry of the second corps, under General Reille, Jerome's division being on the left, near the wood of Hougoumont, Foy in the centre, and Bachelu on the right, resting on the Charleroi road. On the other side of the road, the four

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divisions of infantry, of the first corps, formed the third column, and, on its right, the light infantry of the same corps, formed the fourth column, the whole corps commanded by Lieutenant-General Count d'Erlon, and extending between the Charleroi road and Frichemont. These formed the first line. The second line consisted of Kellermann's cuirassiers, in two lines, one thousand one hundred toises in extent, forming the first column on the left, resting on the Nivelles road, and Milhaud's cuirassiers, in two lines, nine hundred toises in length, constituting the fourth column, and resting on Frichemont; and between these, the sixth corps, under Count Lobau, covered both sides of the Charleroi road, its infantry, in column, in two divisions, formed the second column of this line, with its right on the road, and its light cavalry, under Daumont, followed by Subervie's light cavalry, both in close column, formed the third column, and had their left on the same road. The third line consisted of twenty squadrons of the dragoons and grenadiers of the guard, forming the first column, and drawn up in two lines between the Nivelles and Charleroi road; of the foot-guards in twenty-four battalions, formed in two divisions of six lines, on both sides of the Charleroi road, and drawn back toward the farm of Rossome; and of twenty squadrons of the chasseurs and lancers of the guard, forming the third column, on the right of the road. At eleven o'clock, Napoleon rode along the ranks, and was received with unbounded enthusiasm. "The enemy's army," he remarked, "is more numerous than ours; nevertheless, we have ninety chances in our favor, and not ten against us." He then placed himself at the head of his guards, dismounted, and gave the order to advance.

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In this great battle, the instances of individual heroism, and the anecdotes of personal daring, have been so numerous, that in the descriptions that have been given of it, the general and collective view of the engagement has been lost in an immensity of details. In the following account, nothing but an outline statement of the movements and their results will be given:—

The battle began by the advance of Jerome's division on the left, and a sharp fire of musketry in the woods of Hougoumont. As the woods were gradually gained, a battery of thirty British guns opened from the enclosure, and Reille ordered the artillery of his second division to advance. Napoleon at the same time sent up Kellermann's twelve pieces of light artillery. The cannonade became very severe, and the contest in the woods, which were gained and lost several times, witnessed prodigies of valor. Foy's division was ordered to support Jerome: the woods were carried; a battery of eight howitzers was opened against the chateau, which was soon consumed, but the court-yard was still held by a detachment of the English foot-guards and Brunswickers. The grand attack upon the centre was now organized and placed under the command of Marshal Ney. He had just sent an aide-de-camp to inform the emperor that all was ready, and that he waited only for the signal. Before giving it, the emperor surveyed the whole field, and perceived in the direction of St. Lambert something that seemed like troops. All the glasses of the staff were immediately turned in that direction; and opinions varied as to whether it was the Prussians or Grouchy. In this doubt, the light cavalry under Daumont and Subervie, amounting to thirty thousand, and

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forming the third column of the second line, were directed to move round to the right and take position in front of these new troops. Soon after, a Prussian officer of chasseurs was captured, who gave information that this was Bulow's corps, which had not been engaged at Ligny, and amounted to thirty thousand men. Count Lobau was at once ordered to move with his two divisions of the infantry of the sixth corps, forming the second column of the second line toward St. Lambert, and orders were again despatched to Grouchy to hasten his march. Napoleon's line of battle before the attack on the centre was thus weakened by ten thousand men. "We had, this morning, ninety chances in our favor," said Napoleon to Soult: "Bulow's arrival has taken thirty from us; we have still sixty against forty; and if Grouchy arrives, we shall win the battle." It was noon when they began to advance. Two divisions of the first corps, flanked upon their left by eighty pieces of cannon on the Charleroi road, and led by Ney in person, advanced against the farm of St. Haye; while the two other divisions of the same corps, with the cavalry on its right, was to advance on the village of Haye, on the British left. This formidable column was received by a galling fire from Picton's division; and when disordered by its severity, Ponsonby's brigade of horse charged with irresistible fury, broke the column, and took a large number of prisoners and cannon, together with two eagles. Napoleon rode forward at full speed, and ordered up a brigade of Milhaud's cuirassiers from the second line. They set off, shouting "Vive l'Empereur!" assailed the disordered British cavalry, and drove them back with great loss. Picton and

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Ponsonby were both killed. St. Haye now became the centre and object of a protracted and fierce contest: repeated charges were made by both armies, and repulsed with the greatest valor. During the afternoon, a body of not less than twelve thousand splendid cavalry, consisting of Milhaud's and Kellermann's cuirassiers, and the reserve cavalry of the guards under General Guyot, were engaged in repeated charges against the British centre. The cavalry of Wellington were overmastered and driven back; but the infantry threw themselves into squares, and received with unmoving firmness the assaults of the terrible horsemen, who again and again precipitated themselves upon their close ranks. Meanwhile, Planchenoit, on the right, had become the scene of a fierce encounter between Lobau's division, aided by the young guard, and Bulow's corps; and, after a long struggle, the latter were worsted and began to retire. But a new body of Prussians under Ziethen was now descried further along the French right, and it was certain that Blucher's main army was at hand, while nothing could be seen of Grouchy. Napoleon saw the necessity of determining the contest with the English before their allies came in full force upon the field, and accordingly gave directions for a grand final attack by the old guard. This magnificent body of the finest foot-soldiers that the world ever saw — whose weight, thrown into the balance of a divided battle, had so often turned the scale of victory — moved forward, about seven in the evening, in two columns — the first under Reille, and the second under the dauntless Ney. Their attack was directed upon the right of the enemy's centre, at St. Haye. Napoleon himself marched at the head of the second column

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along the Charleroi road, as far as the point at which the men turned off to their left. It was thought that he was about to stake his life upon their charge; but at that point, addressing them as they passed, he stopped and awaited the result. Wellington took immediate dispositions to receive these formidable assaults. Adam's brigade were drawn up, with their guns inclined toward the left, and powerful batteries opened on the flank and in front. Sir Hussey Vivian's dragoons were stationed on the other side of St. Haye, and the foot-guards and thirtieth and seventy-third regiments stationed in front of the advancing column, lying down in a ditch which concealed them from view. As Reille came forward, the fire from Adam's guns soon dispersed his cavalry on that flank, and checked and disordered his infantry. Ney then, having had his horse shot, advanced on foot with his sabre in his hand, leading on the solid mass upon whose firmness stood depending the fate of Europe. The guns were driven back, and the column advanced within forty paces of the ditch. The duke then gave the order, "Up, guards, and at them." The men rose with a shout, rushed forward, and poured a tremendous fire on the French ranks, under which they melted away and began to recoil. The duke then ordered Sir Hussey's dragoons to charge upon their right flank, while Adam advanced upon the other side. It was precisely the situation of the battle of Cannæ, and the result was not less conclusive. The guards were overwhelmed and driven back in wild confusion. At the same moment, Blucher's troops were seen advancing from Ohain and driving the French out of La Haye. "Tout est perdu — sauve qui peut," was heard on every side. Wellington ordered the

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whole line to advance; and the French army was swept from the field in utter and hopeless ruin. "It was a torrent dislodged from its bed, hurling away everything in its course." The British advanced along the Genappe road as far as Maison du Roi, where Wellington and Blucher embraced at nine o'clock, and the latter took charge of the pursuit.

The conduct of Marshal Grouchy on this occasion has been the subject of ceaseless controversy. What effect his presence, with thirty-two thousand troops, on the field of battle, might have had upon the contest, it is not easy to determine. Probably it would have changed the day. But the culpability of Grouchy is altogether a different question. He was certainly wanting in activity, zeal, and intelligence, but he was not guilty of a breach of orders, and Napoleon never charged that fault upon him. In this matter, the blind and ignorant popular feeling has, as is usual in such cases, gone far beyond the voice of the person most feelingly interested to blame the marshal. "I asked Napoleon," says Dr. O'Meara, "if he thought Grouchy had betrayed him intentionally. 'No, No,' replied Napoleon; 'but there was a want of energy on his part.'" According to the statements made by the emperor at St. Helena, Grouchy pursued Blucher by the two routes of Mont Guibert and Gembloux; but reports having induced the belief that the greater part of the Prussians had retired by Gembloux (which seems to have been the fact), he directed most of his forces to that point, which he reached at four o'clock in the evening of the 17th. In the evening, he received certain information that the principal part of the Prussian army was moving toward Wavres. It was then six o'clock, and the soldiers had encamped

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and were preparing their suppers. Grouchy judged that it would be better not to march until early in the morning: he would still be before Wavres in time, he thought; and the soldiers having taken a good rest, would be full of spirits. Thus the Prussians gained a march upon him; and this delay was, as Napoleon thought, the chief cause of the loss of the battle of Waterloo. In the morning of the 18th, Grouchy was in march to Wavres, which is only three leagues from Gembloux. Blucher, with three corps of his army, had been pressing eagerly forward toward St. Lambert, in compliance with the pledge which he had given the duke. Thielman's corps, amounting to sixteen thousand, was left at Wavres, and was engaged with Grouchy during the day. The cannonade at Waterloo was, of course, heard at Wavres, and there could be no doubt that a great battle was going on at that point. General Excelmans, who commanded the cavalry under Grouchy, went up to the marshal and said to him, "The emperor is engaged with the English army; there can be no question about it. Such a cannonade as that is no skirmish. Marshal, our duty is, to *march toward the fire*. I am an old soldier of the army of Italy, and I have heard General Bonaparte lay down that rule a hundred times. If we move to the left, we shall arrive on the field of battle in two hours." — "I believe you are right," said the marshal; "but if Blucher should march from Wavres and take me in flank, I shall commit myself by breaking my orders, which are to march against Blucher." Count Gerard then pointed out to Grouchy, that the orders had reference to an earlier time, that he ought to have been at Wavres the day before, and that Blucher, who had gained a march on

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him, was probably by this time in communication with Wellington; and that the safest thing was, to march toward the field of battle. The marshal appeared convinced; but, at this moment, he received information that his light cavalry had become engaged with the Prussians at Wavres; that their whole army was there, and amounted to eighty thousand men. He then marched to Wavres, which he reached at four o'clock in the afternoon; and believing the whole Prussian army to be before him, he spent two hours in forming his line of battle and making his dispositions. It was then he received the message from the officer despatched from the field of battle at ten in the morning.

Such is the narrative dictated by Napoleon at St. Helena. Now, what was the order despatched to him at ten o'clock? It has been published by Grouchy: "His majesty desires," says Soult to Grouchy, under the date of 18th June, 1815, ten o'clock, "that you should direct your movements upon Wavres, in order to approach and act in concert with us, driving before you all the Prussians who have taken that direction, or who might stop at Wavres, where you should endeavor to arrive as soon as possible." In engaging the Prussians at Wavres, therefore, Grouchy was acting in accordance with the wishes of the emperor at ten o'clock on the 18th. In point of fact, Blucher had been at Wavres with his whole army, amounting to seventy-five thousand men, in four corps, on the night of the 17th. At an early hour on the 18th, in conformity with the arrangement made with the duke on the 16th, he sent the fourth corps under Bulow, which was fresh and entire, on to St. Lambert. Soon after, the second corps, under Pirch, amounting to eighteen thousand men, was

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sent forward in the same direction; and he marched himself with the first, which was commanded by Ziethen. The third, under Thielman, amounting to sixteen thousand, remained at Wavres, and became engaged with Grouchy. On the following morning, after Grouchy had routed Thielman, and was preparing to march to Brussels, he received intelligence of the rout at Waterloo, with orders to retire upon Laon. He did so, and arrived there on the 25th, with his whole corps of thirty-two thousand. It is not difficult to see that Grouchy did comply both with the spirit of his orders and with the intentions of Napoleon. On the morning of the 18th, the whole Prussian army was at Wavres; and Napoleon's design then seems to have been, that Grouchy should engage them there, which that marshal attempted to do. The failure of the emperor's arrangements is to be ascribed to Blucher's fidelity to the scheme planned by the duke of Wellington, and to his dexterity and daring in leaving Thielman's corps to withstand Grouchy's force of double its strength, and suddenly marching off three corps of the army to St. Lambert on the morning of the battle.

The comparative merits of Napoleon and the duke of Wellington in these operations, have been discussed with a vehemence characteristic of the fierce hereditary jealousy of the two nations of which they were the champions. To arrive at a sound view upon the subject, it is necessary to make a distinction between the campaign of Waterloo and the battle of Waterloo, which was the conclusion of it. In looking at the former as a whole, it is impossible not to acknowledge the clear superiority of that great master of strategy — the duke of Wellington. The art of war, in modern times, is so

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completely reduced to the principle of having a greater force than the enemy at the point of contest, that we may assume that, when the campaign opened on the 14th of June, the object which Napoleon had to accomplish was, to fight the Prussians and the English separately; and that the problem which the duke of Wellington was required to solve was, always to fight in conjunction with Blucher. Now, Napoleon fought the allied armies twice, and on both occasions he fought them together. When hostilities commenced, he had those advantages which he had so often turned to splendid triumphs against less accomplished opponents: he was in a central position, while the enemy were on a circle around him, and he had the initiative. He threw his whole army upon Blucher with astonishing rapidity: for success in that battle, all depended upon the left wing under Ney. The advance of that wing would either overwhelm Blucher, or would at least turn him toward Namur, and separate him from Wellington. At a quarter past three, on the 16th of June, 1815, Soult, major-general, wrote to Ney from Ligny: "His majesty orders me to direct you instantly to surround the enemy's right, and to fall upon his rear. Their army is lost, if you act with vigor; the fate of France is in your hands. Lose not a moment in making the prescribed movement." But this movement, so vital to the success of Napoleon, was defeated by Wellington's rapid concentration of his troops at Quatre Bras to fight Ney, who, when this order was received, was struggling with twenty thousand, and soon after with thirty thousand, of the enemy. This battle was the Friedland of the allies in principle, though undecisive in its result. The arrival of the duke, moreover, pre-

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vented the Prussians from being driven toward Namur. They retired on Wavres, and were, on the following day, to unite with the English. Napoleon's separation of his army, by detaching so large a part of it under Grouchy, was a departure from those principles of warfare which he had so often taught and illustrated: it exposed him to the danger of the enemy suddenly concentrating their force and falling upon one part of the army under him with their united force; which is precisely what took place. In regard to the battle of the 18th, it may fairly be admitted, that Napoleon would have defeated the *corps d'armée* commanded by Wellington, if the Prussians had not come up; nay, it may, perhaps, with truth be said, that he did conquer them until the Prussians came up. But when it is said that the arrival of the Prussians secured the victory to Wellington, the highest tribute is paid to Wellington's ability, which arranged that Prussian movement, made it a part of his operations, and relied upon it with undoubting confidence. Waterloo was the duke of Wellington's Marengo.

After the battle of Waterloo, Grouchy was deprived of his dignity of marshal, by a royal ordinance of the 1st of August, 1815. He came to America, where he spent some years in a kind of disgrace. On the 19th of November, 1831, however, his rank of marshal was restored to him; and in 1831, he was made a peer of France. In 1807, Grouchy received the grand eagle of the legion of honor; in 1808, the grand cross of the Bavarian military order of merit: in 1811, he was made a commander of the crown of iron, and in 1815, commander of the order of St. Louis. He died on the 7th of June, 1847.

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JEAN-BAPTISTE BESSIERES.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, MAY 19, 1804.

DUKE OF ISTRIA.

THE brilliant group which surrounded the emperor, offers no character more respectable for ability and for dignity of conduct, or more engaging for integrity and purity of purpose, than the Marshal Bessières. Equal to his high duty, he never aspired beyond it; and filled a great sphere of public service without that stimulus of ambition which is usually requisite to urge and sustain men through a lofty career of effort and distinction. Quick in his perceptions, sound in judgment, independent in feeling, and cool in temper, his sagacity never took a selfish direction; but he always served with simple and loyal integrity, the master to whom he owed everything, and over whose personal safety it was his especial office to watch. From the period of the creation of the guides, he was exclusively intrusted with the duty of guarding the general-in-chief, and the headquarters. In all the great battles he rendered the greatest services.

Jean-Baptiste Bessières, son of Mathurin Bessières and Antoinette Lemosy, his wife, was born at Proisac, in Quercy, on the 6th of August, 1768. He was thrown, by the revolution, into the career of arms, and served, originally, as a private soldier, in the royal

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horse-guards of Louis XVI., in 1792, and afterward, in the same year, in the twenty-second chasseurs, in the army of the eastern Pyrenees. In 1793, he was advanced successively to the rank of sub-lieutenant, and of lieutenant; he was made captain, in 1794, and the same year was transferred to the army of Italy. When Napoleon took the command, in 1796, Bessières was a major, and soon attracted the attention of the general, by acts of extraordinary personal bravery. So highly did Napoleon esteem his talents and character, that when the corps of guides was organized, from which the consular and imperial guard afterward sprung, Bessières was appointed its commander. That celebrated body, took its origin after the passage of the Mincio, in May, 1796, of which an account will be found in the history of the Italian campaigns. On the 30th of May, Augereau's division had crossed the river and marched up the left bank. Serrurier's had also passed, and pursued the enemy, and Napoleon marched with it as long as the Austrians were in sight: he then returned to a castle in Valeggio, where his headquarters were established, and being troubled with a headache, was making use of a foot-bath. Massena's division, appointed to cover Valeggio, were preparing their dinner on the other side of the river, not having yet crossed the bridge. Suddenly an alarm was given that Sebottendorf's division, which was below the town, hearing the cannonade had marched up, and meeting no troops, had penetrated as far as the lodgings of the general-in-chief. The picquet-guard had barely time to shut the gate and cry, "To arms!" and, Napoleon was obliged to throw himself upon his horse with one boot on, and escape through the back gate of the garden

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behind the house. Massena's men, apprized of the occurrence, quickly overturned their pots and kettles, rushed over the bridge, and chased the Austrians out of the town. The danger which Napoleon had thus incurred, convinced him of the necessity of having a guard of picked men, trained to the service, and especially charged to watch over his personal safety. He, accordingly, formed the corps of guides, consisting of picked men, who had served ten years at least, and rendered great services in the field. They wore the uniform afterward used by the chasseurs of the guard, of which they were the nucleus. Major Bessières was charged with the organizing of this corps, and continued to command it. From that time we find him, in different ranks, always at the head of the consular or imperial guard, charging with the reserve, deciding the battle, or profiting by the victory. At the time of his death, he was colonel of the cavalry of the guard.

After the battles of Rivoli, and La Favorite, Bessières was honored with the office of carrying the colors to Paris. He rose with the man whose notice had distinguished him, sharing his personal familiarity, and enjoyed a large portion of those favors which were so liberally heaped on merit. In the rank of chief of brigade, he accompanied Napoleon to Egypt; and, on his return, was created a brigadier-general, and one of the commanders of the consular guard, and took part in the battle of Marengo. In 1802, he was made a general of division; and, in 1804, was made a marshal of the empire, and a grand-officer of the legion of honor. In the campaign of Austerlitz, and in those of Russia and Poland, he had the command of the division of the imperial guard. In 1808, Bessières was sent into Spain,

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and the second corps of the army, having, upon Moncey's advance to Madrid, been increased by reinforcements till it reached twenty-three thousand men, this force was called the army of the western Pyrenees, and placed under Bessières, who established his headquarters at Burgos. He suppressed, with vigor and success, an insurrection which broke out soon after he took the command, in June. On the 14th of July, he defeated Cuesta at Rio Seco; displaying great ability, promptness, and decision, and winning a decisive victory over superior numbers, at a very critical moment in the affairs of the French. When Napoleon heard of the victory he said that it was the battle of Almanza, and that Bessières had saved Spain. In 1809, he was created duke of Istria, and returned from Spain upon the commencement of the campaign in Germany.

At the battle of Wagram, Bessières had the command of all the cavalry, and an untoward ball deprived this important arm of a leader, at a very important moment. After directing the attack against the centre, which Macdonald conducted with so much heroism, Napoleon gave directions to Bessières, to charge with the whole cavalry, upon the right wing of the enemy, which was very far advanced. Bessières had barely started to execute the order, when he was knocked down by the most extraordinary cannon-shot ever seen. A ball, in full sweep, tore his breeches open from the top of the thigh to the knee, running along the leg in a zig-zag form, as if it had been lightning. He was thrown so suddenly from his horse, that it was supposed he had been instantly killed: the same shot forced the barrel from his pistol, and carried off both barrel and stock. The emperor had seen him fall, but

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did not, at first, recognise him. "Who is it?" said he, in his usual expression. "Bessières, sire," was the reply. He immediately turned his horse round, saying. "Let us go, for I have no time to weep; let us avoid another scene;" alluding to the death of Lannes, a few days before at Essling. He sent Savary to see if Bessières was alive: the marshal had been carried off the field, and had recovered his senses, having been merely stunned, and his limb, for a time, paralyzed. Bessières was adored by the guards, among whom he passed his life. When he was struck, a mournful cry arose from the whole battalion. When Napoleon saw him the next time, he cried, "Bessières, the ball which struck you drew tears from all my guard: return thanks to that ball; it ought to be very dear to you."

In 1811, Bessières was placed in command of the army of the north in Spain; and in the following year, at the head of the cavalry of the imperial guard, accompanied Napoleon in his invasion of Russia. The campaign of 1813, in Saxony, found the duke of Istria at the post of duty and of danger. Las Cases chanced to meet him, in a private box at the theatre, the night before he set out for the army. After talking of public affairs, which deeply interested him, for he idolized his country, he stated that he was about to take the field, and hoped that they should meet again; "but," said he, "at the present crisis, with our young soldiers, we leaders must not spare ourselves." It was a generous and self-devoting impulse of this kind that led to his death at the very opening of the campaign. On the 1st of May, 1813, the day before the battle of Lutzen, while Napoleon was in the town of Weissenfels, a signal

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was made that the advanced-guard of the enemy was at hand. "To horse!" was the sudden cry heard at the headquarters of the emperor; and the corps of Ney advanced upon Rippach, while Napoleon with another corps moved forward to the heights toward Poserna, to wait till the defile of Rippach should be occupied. "Marshal Bessières, duke of Istria, colonel-general of the guard, and who, in that situation, was not necessary to the attack of the defile," says the baron Von Odeleben, "marched in haste at the head of the tirailleurs, who advanced by way of Rippach. The duke had scarcely gained the side of a height occupied by the artillery of the allies, when he fell, struck in the abdomen by a cannon-ball. The fall of this important character was concealed from the troops as much as possible: his body was immediately covered with a white sheet, and no mention was made of the calamity."

Napoleon caused his remains and those of Duroc, who was killed soon after, to be embalmed and carried to the *Invalides* at Paris, and intended extraordinary honors for them, which subsequent events rendered it impossible for him to pay them. He addressed, however, a beautiful letter to the widow of Bessières, which might properly be regarded as a more valuable tribute than any ceremonies of public grief. "My cousin, your husband has expired on the field of honor. You and your children have sustained undoubtedly a great loss, but I have sustained a greater. The duke of Istria has died the noblest of deaths, and without pain; and he has left to his children the best inheritance he could bequeath — a reputation without a blemish. My protection is secure to them; and they will inherit the place in my affection which their father filled." A

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monument was erected to Bessières by the king of Saxony, on the very spot where he was slain. It is a simple stone, surrounded by poplars, and is similar to that of Gustavus Adolphus, from which it is not far distant.

The talents of Bessières developed as he advanced, and were always on a level with his expanding fortunes. "He possessed," says the emperor in his memoirs, "a cool species of bravery, and was always calm in the midst of the enemy's fire: his sight was excellent, and being much habituated to cavalry manœuvres, was peculiarly adapted to command a reserve. He and Murat were the best cavalry officers in the army, but possessed very different qualities. Murat was a good vanguard officer, adventurous and impetuous: Bessières was better qualified for a reserve, being full of vigor, but prudent and circumspect." He was not a mere soldier, but his political judgment and abilities were of a high order. His moral qualities were not less valuable. "Bessières," says Las Cases, "always continued good, humane, and generous; of antique loyalty and integrity; and, whether considered as a citizen or a soldier, an honest, worthy man. He often made use of the high favor in which he stood, to do extraordinary services and kindnesses, even to people of very different ways of thinking from his. I know persons, who, if they have a spark of gratitude in them, will confirm my assertion, and bear testimony to his noble, elevated sentiments." To the emperor he was attached wlth a kind of worshipping affection, and the emperor entertained for him the warmest regard.

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LOUIS ALEXANDER BERTHIER.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, MAY 19TH, 1804.

PRINCE AND DUKE OF NEUFCHATEL: VICE-CONSTABLE OF FRANCE: PRINCE OF WAGRAM.

"NATURE, in forming some men," said Napoleon, "intended that they should always remain in a subaltern situation. Such was Berthier. There was not in the world so good a *chef d'etat major:* but change his occupation, and he was not fit to command five hundred men."

In a feeling of natural disgust, at the faithless selfishness of one, who, for twenty years had been the recipient of his lavish bounty, Napoleon, at St. Helena, spoke of Berthier as "a mere goose, whom I had converted into a kind of eagle." The description was, probably, quite accurate; yet, this tame, domestic bird, in the situation which he occupied, was of inestimable use to Napoleon's service, and was adapted, by the very mediocrity of his talents, to occupy a sphere which the impatient spirit and soaring pinion of a nobler fowl could never have submitted to traverse. His total want of original vigor, and his incapacity to invent or combine, rendered him the more fitted to be the faithful medium of the will of the great commander whom he served, and to communicate, with exactness, between

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the mind and the body of the army. As associated in the most intimate relations with the emperor, and, as having shared his unbounded familiarity, his name will always be remembered with a peculiar interest.

Louis Alexander Berthier, was born at Versailles, on the 20th of November, 1753. His father, Jean-Baptiste Berthier, was engineer of the camps and armies of the king, to Louis XV. and Louis XVI.; they frequently employed him to draw plans of chases, and were fond of pointing out the errors they discovered in his plans, on their return from hunting. Young Berthier, at the age of thirteen, received the honorary appointment of geographical engineer to the king, and at seventeen, was a lieutenant in the royal staff. In 1777, he became a captain of dragoons, and served in the American war, from 1780 to 1782, as lieutenant-adjutant to Rochambeau's staff. He was a lieutenant-colonel in 1789, and major-general of the national guard of Versailles. He afterward served as quarter-master-general of the revolutionary armies, in La Vendée, where he was wounded, and he again held the same station in the army of the north, when it was commanded by Marshal Luckner, and by General Kellermann. He followed the latter, when he took command of the army of Italy, and when he returned to the army of the Alps: but, when Napoleon succeeded to the head of the army of Italy, Berthier solicited, and obtained, the post of quartermaster-general to him, in which capacity he served during the campaigns of Italy. At the close of 1797, after the return of Napoleon to Paris, Berthier received the provisional command of the army, and was ordered by the directory to advance to Rome. On the 25th of January, 1798,

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he entered Ancona, at the head of eighteen thousand men, and, on the 10th of February, appeared at the gates of Rome. A revolution followed, and the French commander-in-chief was the unwilling abettor of the odious scenes of violence and rapine which disgraced his government. Berthier, however weak, was a man of honor and probity, and of sound principles; and he looked, with disgust and horror, upon the enormities of which his presence was the pretext and support. "I always told you," he wrote to Napoleon, on the 1st of January, when the invasion of the ecclesiastical states was meditated, "that the command in Italy was not suited to me. I wish to extricate myself from revolutions. Four years' service in them in America, and ten in France, is enough, general. I shall ever be ready to combat, as a soldier, for my country; but I have no desire to be mixed up with revolutionary politics." On the 10th of February, he again wrote to Napoleon, "I have been in Rome since this morning; but I have found only the greatest consternation among the inhabitants. One solitary *patriot* has appeared at headquarters: he offered me the services of two thousand galley-slaves! You may imagine how I received such a proposition. My further presence here is useless. I implore you to recall me: you can not confer a greater kindness upon me." A few days after, Berthier was recalled, and Massena assumed the command.

In the same year, 1798, he was placed at the head of the staff of the army which was preparing with a view to the invasion of England; and, in that character he accompanied Napoleon to Egypt. Berthier, at this time, was the subject of a most passionate love for

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Madame Visconti; a devotion which completely absorbed his character, and besotted his understanding. When Napoleon was preparing to sail from Toulon, Berthier posted down to tell him he was unwell, and could not follow him. The general-in-chief took no notice of what he said, and, Berthier, finding it impossible for him to abandon his master, set sail along with him. In Egypt, his passion for his mistress, grew to a kind of idolatrous worship. Adjoining his own tent, he had another prepared with all the elegance of a Parisian boudoir; this was consecrated to the portrait of his mistress, and Napoleon stated that he would sometimes go so far as to burn incense before it. "One day," says De Bourrienne, "I went with an order from Bonaparte, to the chief of his staff, whom I found on his knees before the portrait of Madame Visconti, which was hanging opposite the door. I touched him, to let him know I was there. He looked round, but did not think proper to interrupt his devotions." After some time, his desire to see the object of his idolatry became so strong, that he solicited, and obtained, permission to return to France. The *Courageuse*, frigate, which was to convey him home, was preparing at Alexandria. He had received his instructions and his passport, and took leave of Napoleon, and bade him a formal adieu; but, soon after, returned with tears in his eyes, and said that he could not, after all, dishonor himself, and that he could not separate his destiny from his general's.

He returned to France, with Napoleon, in 1799, and was, soon after, made minister of war: but, not giving satisfaction in that department, Napoleon superseded him by Carnot, an intellectual statesman of the highest

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rank. This appointment took place on the 2d of April, 1800; and the first consul, at the same time, to console Berthier, placed him at the head of the army of reserve, which, professedly, was assembling at Dijon. In announcing this change, Napoleon dictated, to Bourienne, the following letter to Berthier: "Citizen-general: The military talents, of which you have given so many proofs, and the confidence of the government, call you to the command of an army. During the winter, you have *re-organized* the war department, and you have provided, as far as circumstances would permit, for the wants of our armies. During the spring and summer, it must be your task to lead our troops to victory, which is the effectual means of obtaining peace, and consolidating the republic." Bonaparte, says Bourienne, laughed heartily while he dictated this epistle, especially when he uttered the word in italics. The appointment was merely illusory: when the army was ready to march, Napoleon took the command himself, and, at Marengo, Berthier was in his true position.

In 1804, Berthier was made a marshal of the empire, and grand officer of the legion of honor, and chief of the first cohort of that order. In 1805, he made the campaign of Austria as major-general of the grand army. In 1806, he was created prince and duke of Neufchatel, and in 1807, was made a member of the senate and vice-constable; and in the same years, he served in the Prussian and Polish campaigns. In 1808, he served for a time in Spain; and on the 9th of March in that year, he married Mary Elizabeth, daughter of the king of Bavaria. In the campaign of 1809, he won the further title of prince of Wagram. In the capacity of major-general of the grand army, he made the campaigns of

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Russia in 1812, of Saxony in 1813, and of France in 1814.

The person to whom Napoleon intrusted such important offices, and upon whom he lavished such honors, undoubtedly possessed talents of the very first order for the station in which he was placed. "He was of an irresolute character," said Napoleon, "and unfit for a principal command, but possessed of all the qualifications of a good quartermaster-general." There was an attempt made at one time to represent him as Napoleon's Mentor, and to consider him as the person who directed all operations. Berthier himself did all that he could to silence these reports, which rendered him ridiculous in the army. His utter incapacity to exercise a principal command was shown at the beginning of the campaign of 1809, when his irresolution, and the absurd dispositions which he made of the troops in the presence of the archduke Charles, came exceedingly near ruining the army. Davoust, indeed, who was on the point of being the victim of Berthier's imbecility, charged him with treachery; but there was no ground to impute anything worse than incapacity.

But as an executive officer, and as an assistant in preparing and expediting military affairs, his powers were of the highest value. From long training, he was able to present the most complicated movements of an army with perspicuity. He was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of all the corps, and could name their commanders and their several forces. He was exceedingly regular and exact, and attended personally to the despatch of orders. He could receive and transmit intelligence and directions of the most complicated variety, at all hours of the day and night, with entire

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distinctness and accuracy. His geographical and topographical science exceeded those of any man of the time. He was well acquainted with the map, and understood the reconnoitring duty perfectly. His activity was extraordinary: he followed his general in all his reconnoitring parties and all his excursions, without in the least neglecting his official duties. Cool and collected, his ability to distinguish and comprehend the movements of the troops on the field of battle was remarkable; and Napoleon often employed him to report of the exact situation of the battle. Napoleon, in describing to the directory the generals in his army in 1796, said: "Berthier has talents, activity, courage, character — all in his favor." He was then forty-three years of age. After 1805, war had become hateful to him, and he submitted reluctantly to the duties required of him. Berthier's manners were abrupt, egotistic, and unpleasing. His character was one of extreme weakness. Napoleon estimated that he had given him in the course of his life not less than forty millions; yet, in the hour of his master's misfortunes, no man exhibited a more selfish and time-serving conduct. Napoleon said, that his behavior was the result of his want of spirit and absolute nullity of character.

At Fontainebleau, in the crisis of the emperor's political overthrow, Berthier came into the apartment where he was busily occupied, and requested permission to proceed to Paris, only, as he said, for a short time, and for the purpose of settling some business, after which he would return to the emperor, never again to leave him. Napoleon, who knew the weakness and worthlessness of his old trusted companion, at once assented; and as Berthier withdrew, said to the person

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whom he had been engaged with, "There he goes, to seal his own degradation; and in spite of all his protestations, he will never come back again." So lost to every sentiment of decency did Berthier afterward become, that he was known to speak of the emperor as "*that man!*" Upon the arrival of Louis XVIII. at Compiegne, Berthier, at the head of the marshals, in their name, delivered an address to the king, in which he told him, that "France, groaning for five-and-twenty years under the load of misfortunes that oppressed her, had anxiously looked for the happy day which she now saw dawning." The king made him a peer of France, captain of the royal body-guards, and a commander of the order of St. Louis. Upon the return of Napoleon, Berthier followed the court to Lisle. Napoleon, whose temper was calm and placable, and who retained no personal animosities, expressed his regret at not seeing his old comrade. "The rogue," said he, with a smile, "is afraid of me, I suppose; but he has no reason to be so. The only punishment I should have inflicted upon him, would have been to require him to appear before me in his new costume of captain of the king's body-guards." But a gloomier fate was soon to close a career of pitiable baseness. Berthier retired to Bamberg, in Bavaria, where, while viewing some Russian troops who were passing by, he fell from a window and was killed, on the 1st of June, 1815. According to some suspicions, he had become compromitted with his new friends by the discovery of some of his correspondence, and his death was self-inflicted, to escape this fresh disgrace.

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LOUIS GABRIEL SUCHET.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, JULY 8, 1811.

DUKE OF ALBUFERA.

AMONG the lieutenants of Napoleon, there can be no doubt that the most complete military character presented to our view is the marshal Suchet. He filled, through a series of years, the most distinct and even opposite departments of effort, and attained in all of them a first-rate and surpassing reputation. The qualities which make an efficient general of division are extremely different from those which constitute a great commander-in-chief: yet through the great campaigns of Napoleon, Suchet's division is identified with the fiercest and hardiest encounters in the field; and in later years, we find the same chieftain exhibiting, in several campaigns, a grand scheme of scientific operations scarcely inferior in ingenuity of conception and perfection of skill to those which have given immortality to the name of Wellington. The civil virtues and moral excellences displayed by this great soldier, in an administration in which the political responsibility was even more pressing than the military, contribute to shed peculiar lustre upon his character, and set it in an honorable contrast to the odious features which, in this department, were exhibited by Soult. Napoleon himself had formed a very

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high estimate of Suchet's abilities. At St. Helena, in 1817, O'Meara asked him who, in his opinion, was at that time the first of the French generals: "It is difficult to say," replied Napoleon: "I think, however, that Suchet is probably the first. Massena was; but you may say that he is dead. Suchet, Clausel, and Gerard, are, in my opinion, the first of the French generals." He also mentioned Soult in terms of praise. To Las Cases, Napoleon named Suchet as one whose courage and judgment had been surprisingly improved.

Louis Gabriel Suchet, son of Pierre Suchet, was born at Lyons on the 2d of March, 1770. His family was one of respectability and consideration; but, in common with a multitude of youths of the best standing in France, the circumstances of the country threw him into the ranks at an early age. He rose in his new profession with unexampled rapidity. A private soldier in 1792, he had attained in the course of a year the rank of a lieutenant-colonel, in which capacity he served at the siege of Toulon, and was one of the courageous band who captured General O'Hara. He here formed the acquaintance of Napoleon, with whom he served in the army of Italy in 1796 and 1797. He fought with distinguished valor under the eye of that commander at Dego, Lodi, Rivoli, Castiglione, and Lonato, and won the rank of colonel at the age of twenty-six years. In 1798, he was employed in the army of Switzerland, where he rose to the station of brigadier-general; and in 1799, he was made chief of the staff in the army of Italy, where he continued throughout the following year. His vigor, firmness, and integrity, in the difficult office of chief of the staff, exhibited a character of the first order of excellence,

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and won the respect and confidence of all with whom he was brought into connexion. His severity in exposing the corrupt practices of the commissioners who attended the army, excited the displeasure of the directory, and he was summoned to their bar to defend his conduct. Owing to the generous friendship of Joubert, who left his post to bear testimony to the merits of the young officer, Suchet was acquitted, and sent to rejoin the army under Massena. On one occasion, being separated from the rest of the army, and shut in by a lake among the Alps, he escaped by a daring and perilous march across the ice, without the loss of a man. "I was sure," said Massena, when his arrival at camp was announced, "I was very sure that Suchet would bring me back his brigade." When Joubert took the command of the army, Suchet was raised to the rank of general of division, retaining his station of chief of the staff. He fought with devoted courage at the battle of Novi, so glorious and so fatal for his friend. He continued to serve under Championnet; and when Massena took the command in Italy, he made him his lieutenant, and on the 7th of March, 1800, gave him the command of three divisions of the army. The operations of Melas and Elnitz in the beginning of April, which enclosed Massena in Genoa, separated Suchet from the main body of the army, and drove him back toward France. He took position at Borghetto on the 2d of May; but, being driven out and pursued by immensely superior forces, he retired gradually, with great ability, until he reached the fortified line of the Var. Thrice was he attacked here by Elnitz in great strength, and thrice did his obstinate valor make good the important position which he held, until the advance of Napo-

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leon on Milan compelled the Austrian general to retreat. Suchet then instantly resumed the offensive, and harassed his retreat with the utmost vigor. Carnot, the celebrated minister of war, impressed with both the importance and the bravery of this defence, said to Suchet that he had immortalized a new Thermopylæ.

At the passage of the Mincio, on the 20th of December, 1800, when the army was under the command of General Brune, Suchet commanded the centre; and Brune, to mask his design of passing at Mozambano, ordered a false demonstration to be made at Pozzolo, below Borghetto. Dupont, commanding the right, had already crossed, and was in presence of the enemy, when the rest of the army were ordered to resnme their former positions. Suchet, as he was returning, heard a heavy firing on the left bank of the river, which indicated that part of the army might have become engaged: remembering the military precept of Napoleon, always to march toward the firing, he assumed the responsibility of departing from his orders, and instantly marched to the relief of Dupont. His arrival saved that division from total destruction, and after a protracted engagement, the Austrians were repulsed with great loss.

In the following year, Suchet was made inspector-general of the infantry; and in 1803, was placed in command of the fourth division in the camp of Boulogne. In the following year, he received the *grand-cordon* of the legion of honor; and in the campaign of 1805, at the head of the fourth division of Lannes's corps, who had long held him in high esteem, he extended his reputation for invincible courage and hardihood. In the Prussian and Polish campaigns of 1806 and 1807, Suchet's troops fully deserved the title of

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the fighting division. At Saalfield, where he commanded the advanced-guard of the fifth corps, the rapidity and vigor of his manœuvres resulted in the destruction of Prince Louis's troops and the death of that prince. At Jena, Suchet cleared the plain at the base of the Landgrafenberg, which opened the way for the French army to reach their enemies; as Napoleon expressed it, "he broke down the gate of the field of battle." At Pultusk, he sustained the shock of superior forces with heroic resolution, and won the highest honors of bravery and endurance.

In 1808, Suchet was created a count, and when the fifth corps entered Spain under Lannes, he commanded the first division: he served at the siege of Saragossa, and Lannes, when he returned to the emperor, in 1809, advised him to give the supreme command in Aragon to Suchet, as the only general capable of conducting that difficult war. Suchet, accordingly, after the return of Junot to France, received the command of the third corps before Saragossa; and his achievements, always brilliant and always successful, during five campaigns, extending through six years, elevated him into the front rank of great generals.

The same sort of complicated difficulties — military, political, and financial — embarrassed the position of Suchet, as harassed the duke of Wellington; and they were dealt with, and mastered, with an ability not less consummate. The troops had fallen into disorder and irregularities, and the officers had become discontented; but the firm measures and impressive character of the new general, soon re-established the organization and spirit of the army. His career of victory, which thenceforth proceeded without an interruption, began by the

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defeat of Blake at Maria and Belchite, on the 15th and 18th of June, 1809, which produced the most decisive results. The siege of Lerida, which was carried by storm on the 13th of May, 1810, and of Mequinenza, which was taken on the 8th of June, gave Suchet the entire control of Valencia, with a base of operations against Catalonia. The celebrated sieges of Tortosa and Tarragona, the former of which was taken on the 1st of January, 1811, after thirteen days' operations, and the latter carried by storm at the end of June, after fifty-six days of open trenches, made Suchet master of Catalonia, raised his reputation to the highest pitch, and procured for him the rank of marshal on the 8th of July, 1811. Montserrat was taken in the beginning of July, and everything was prepared for the subjection of Valencia. This kingdom was invaded about the middle of September: Saguntum, after two unsuccessful assaults, became the prize of the battle of Saguntum, at the close of October; Blake's whole army, enclosed in Valencia, was reduced to a desperate condition by the battle of Valencia on the 26th of November; and on the 9th of January, that city, with Blake's whole army, surrendered, and eighteen thousand regular troops, eighty stands of colors, two thousand horses, three hundred and ninety guns, forty thousand muskets, and immense quantities of other stores of war, were placed at the disposal of the conqueror. Suchet made his triumphal entry into that city on the 14th of January: and Napoleon expressed his sense of his services by conferring upon him the immense domain of Albufera, together with a dukedom.

Suchet's civil administration was not less admirable than his operations in the field. He pacificated the

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country as he conquered it. Obliged, by Napoleon's system of making war support war, to raise a large revenue of the kingdoms which he subdued, he organized native governments, and through their instrumentality raised large subsidies without oppression or violence. "Had I but two marshals such as Suchet in Spain," said Napoleon, as he read the despatches from Aragon, "I should not only conquer, but I should keep, the peninsula. What a pity that monarchs can not *improvise* such men as that!" The complete subjugation, military and political, of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, held out the brightest promise for the success of the French designs, when the tremendous defeat at Vittoria shattered in a moment every hope of Napoleon in Spain. Suchet, obliged to abandon all his conquests, retreated, with skill, into France. When the emperor met him, after an absence of seven years, he pressed his hand with warmth, and said, "Maréchal Suchet, vous avez beaucoup grandi depuis que nous nous sommes vus!"

The active life of the great soldier and statesman ceases at this period. After the return of the Bourbons, he was made a peer of France, governor of the tenth and fifteenth military divisions, and commandant of the order of St. Louis. In 1815, he commanded the seventh corps of the army of observation, which was called the army of the Alps.

On the 16th of November, 1808, he had married, at Paris, a daughter of Baron Anthony de Saint-Joseph, a niece of the wife of Bernadotte; and in the society of this amiable lady, to whom he was affectionately attached, the later years of his life were passed, chiefly in the composition of those memoirs which are regarded

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as presenting to the military reader one of the finest studies that the literature of the camp exhibits. He died at the chateau of Saint-Joseph, near Marseilles, on the 3d of January, 1826, at the age of fifty-six years, leaving a son, who inherits a seat in the chamber of peers, and a daughter married to Count Matthew de la Redorte, peer of France.

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LAURENT GOUVION ST. CYR.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, AUGUST 27TH, 1812.

MARQUIS OF ST. CYR.

LAURENT GOUVION ST. CYR, a marshal whose unquestionable abilities were not accompanied by that higher inspiration which constitutes good fortune, was born at Toul, on the 13th of April, 1764. Entering the army as a volunteer, in the first battalion of chasseurs, of Paris, he rose with extraordinary rapidity: he became a captain in the same battalion in 1792, a major and adjutant-general in 1793, and, successively, colonel, brigadier-general and general of division, in 1794. He served in the army of the Rhine, during the first three campaigns of the wars of the revolution; and, in 1795, passed to the army of the Rhine and Moselle, where he continued until 1798. In 1799, he served in the army of Italy, with great distinction, under Joubert and Championnet. He commanded the right wing of the army at the battle of Novi, and his sagacity anticipated and would have avoided the catastrophe of that day, where the youthful commander retrieved the fault of his judgment by the heroic sacrifice of his life. When Moreau resumed the direction of the army after that disastrous battle, St. Cyr was stationed with a

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strong rear-guard to defend the Bochetta pass; and, under Championnet, in October, 1799, St. Cyr, in command of the right wing, gained considerable success near Novi. In the beginning of December, the Austrian army under Kray, attacked St. Cyr's corps with great spirit, and drove them back into the rigorous fastnesses of the Bochetta. Here, the soldiers, worn out by the dreadful privations which they had long endured, openly revolted, and, leaving their entrenchments on the mountains, rushed down, tumultously, into Genoa. "What can we perform here?" they cried. "We are sacrificed: we are abandoned: we shall die of cold and hunger. To France! to France." St. Cyr, with admirable firmness and composure, presented himself before the gates. "Whither do you go, soldiers?" said he. "To France," they replied. "Be it so," said the general, calmly: "if duty no longer restrains you; if you have become insensible to the voice of honor, attend at least to reason. If you continue in your present course, your destruction is certain: you have made a desert between yourselves and France, and in a tumultuous retreat you are certain to perish. Your only safety is in your bayonets: if you desire again to see France, unite with me in repelling from the harbor the enemy who now endangers the arrival of succors, and will prevent your reaching the country which you love." The soldiers were, at once, recovered to their duty by this energetic appeal: the enemy were repulsed, and retired into winter-quarters; and the expected convoys arrived from France, to relieve the sufferings of the soldiers. In April, 1800, St. Cyr was transferred from the command of Genoa, to the army of the Rhine, under Moreau, and com-

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manded the centre during the operations of that able general in that year. At the battle of Engen, where his arrival on the field, through the greatest obstacles, decided the victory, and, in the actions near Biberach, in the beginning of May, this general acquired a high character for courage.

In 1801, St. Cyr was placed at the head of the armies of occupation, assembled at Bordeaux, for the invasion of Portugal; and, on the 28th of June, at the head of twenty thousand men, he invaded that kingdom, which offered no resistance. At the close of that year he was sent embassador to the court of Spain; and, in 1803, was appointed lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the army of observation of Naples. In 1804, he was made colonel-general of the cuirassiers, and, in the following year, was commander-in-chief of the first corps of reserve, at the camp of Boulogne. In 1807, he was recalled to the grand army, and formed part of the fourth corps, under Soult. He was distinguished by his gallantry at the battle of Heilsberg; and, as a reward for his services, was afterward created governor-general of Warsaw. In 1808, St. Cyr was placed at the head of a corps, which had been assembled at Perpignan, and with which he entered Catalonia, as commander-in-chief, in that province, on the 5th of November, of that year. Napoleon's directions to him, were, "Preserve Barcelona for me; if it is lost, I can not retake it with eighty thousand men." The siege and capture of Rosas, and the battle of Cardadeu, on the 16th of December, fully accomplished this object. The Spaniards were again defeated, at Molinos del Rey, on the 21st of December, and at Igualada, on the 17th of February, 1809. On the 1st of June, the siege of

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Gerona, so celebrated in the annals of heroic patriotism, was completely begun, by the driving in of all the outposts. After being prosecuted with the greatest rigor for more than three months, a grand assault was made, on the 19th of September, which was repulsed with great loss: and, St. Cyr converting the siege into a blockade, awaited the slow, but certain effects of hunger and distress. The emperor, vexed by the tardiness of the operations, declared that St. Cyr had remained two months before a sentry-box; and, on the 5th of October, he recalled him, and placed Augereau in command, to whom the place surrendered on the 12th of December. In 1808, St. Cyr was created a count.

In 1812, St. Cyr commanded the sixth corps of the army, in the invasion of Russia; and, on the 17th of August, when Oudinot had been wounded in an attack made by Wittgenstein, at Polotsk, St. Cyr took command, also, of his corps, the second. On the 18th of August, St. Cyr, during the day, amused the Russian general by the proposal of an agreement to withdraw the wounded, and by demonstrations of a design to retreat; meanwhile, he secretly drew up his army, in three columns, behind a village near the Düna. At five o'clock in the afternoon, when everything was ready, and Wittgenstein's vigilance had been put to sleep, St. Cyr gave the signal: his columns rushed forward with impetuosity, and the artillery opened a furious cannonade. The Russians, taken by surprise, resisted in vain. Their right gave way first, their centre soon fell into disorder, and fled, leaving a large number of dead, one thousand prisoners, and twenty pieces of cannon. On the news of this victory, the emperor sent St. Cyr the staff of marshal of the empire. While

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the main army advanced to Moscow, St. Cyr remained on the left bank of the Düna, in possession of Polotsk, and the entrenched camp before it. On the 18th of October, with about fourteen thousand men, he was attacked with the utmost fury by Wittgenstein, at the head of fifty thousand, who carried the redoubts not less than seven times, and were as often repulsed from them: at five in the afternoon, the Russians withdrew after sustaining a severe loss. At the beginning of the affair, the marshal was wounded by a musket-ball; he remained, however, in the midst of his troops, and, being unable to support himself, was obliged to be carried about. On the following day, in the presence of Steingell on one side, and Wittgenstein on the other, with superior forces, he effected his retreat across the river, with admirable firmness, and in good order.

In the campaign of Saxony, in 1813, St. Cyr commanded the fourteenth corps, and was honored by the emperor with important commands. When Napoleon set out from Dresden, to advance toward Leipsig and Baden, St. Cyr was left at the head of thirty thousand men, in Dresden. About the middle of October, the city was partially invested by Count Tolstoy, at the head of twenty thousand men: but a skilful and vigorous assault, by St. Cyr, on the 17th, drove this general back into Bohemia. After the battle of Leipsig, the city was blockaded by about fifty thousand troops, on the 27th of October; and, St. Cyr being reduced to the most desperate extremities, and having failed in a sortie, surrendered on the 6th of November, 1813. By the terms of capitulation, St. Cyr, and his staff, were allowed to return to France; but these conditions were disapproved and rejected by the allied powers, and, in

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violation of good faith, he was conducted, with all his followers, into Bohemia, as prisoners-of-war.

In 1814, Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, was created a peer of France. In 1815, he was made commander-In-chief of the *corps d'armée* on the Loire, and afterward minister of war, member of the privy council, and governor of the twelfth military division. In the following year, he was governor of the fifth military division, and grand-cross of the order of St. Louis: in 1817, he was, first, minister of the marine and of the colonies, and then minister of war: and, in 1819, he was advanced to the title of marquis. He died at Hyères, on the 17th of March, 1830, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Imperturbably cool, of undaunted courage, endowed with a quick perception, and an understanding fertile in combinations, Gouvion St. Cyr wanted nothing but a certain enthusiasm of mind, to take rank among the greatest of Napoleon's generals. But there was a trace of jealousy in his character, and an absence of that confiding ardor which hurries men on in felicitous daring; and, his name, therefore, does not shine with all the lustre it might seem to deserve. As a writer on military operations he is held in high esteem.

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CLAUDE VICTOR.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, JULY 13, 1807.

DUKE OF BELLUNO.

CLAUDE VICTOR PERRIN, son of Charles Perrin, and Ann Floriot, was born at La Marche, in Lorraine, on the 7th of December, 1764. He entered the army, in 1781, as a private soldier in the fourth regiment of artillery, and, rising through successive grades, had attained, in 1792, the rank of major. At the siege of Toulon, in 1793, he was severely wounded in the assault on Little Gibraltar, but his courage was rewarded by the promotion to the rank of *chef de brigade*. Here, also, he gained the friendship of Napoleon. The same year he was appointed adjutant-general, and general of brigade; and served in that capacity, first, in the army of the Pyrenees, in 1794, and, afterward, in that of Italy, in 1795, and 1796, under General Dumerbion, and under Napoleon. In 1797, he was made a general of division, and placed at the head of the twelfth military division in the army of Italy, where he served from 1798 until after the battle of Marengo. He commanded in the right wing, at the disastrous battle of Magnano, in April, 1799; and, though unsuccessful, displayed great courage and ability. After Moreau took the command of the army, Victor's division was

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detached toward Genoa, to keep open communications with Macdonald, while the residue of the army retired toward Turin. Victor, without artillery or baggage, successfully accomplished his retreat by Acqui and Dego, upon Genoa, where he was soon after joined by Moreau, who placed him in charge of the important post of Pontremoli. About the middle of June, Victor joined Macdonald to the north of the Apennines, and took a distinguished part in the battle of the Trebbia, on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of that month. At the battle of Genola, on the 4th of November, Victor commanded in the centre, under Championnet, and sustained a severe defeat. In the campaign of Marengo, under Napoleon, Victor served with increased celebrity. At Montebello, his arrival on the field decided the victory; and, at Marengo, he sustained, with Lannes, the shock of the battle, and his division was completely overpowered and disorganized.

In 1800, Victor was appointed lieutenant of the general-in-chief of the Bavarian army; and was minister plenipotentiary in Denmark, during the years 1805 and 1806. During the Polish campaign of 1807, after Bernadotte was wounded at Spandau, on the 5th of June, Victor was placed in command of his corps, being the first corps of the army; and his valor contributed largely to the victory of Friedland. On the 13th of July, 1807, he was raised to the dignity of marshal of the empire; and created grand-eagle of the legion of honor. In 1808, he was created duke of Belluno, and placed in command of the first corps of the army in Spain, and continued to serve in the peninsula until 1812. When Soult advanced into Portugal, in March, 1809, Victor received orders to descend the

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valley of the Tagus, and co-operate with him in an attack on Lisbon. Accordingly, on the 15th and 16th, he passed the river at the bridges of Talavera and Arzobispo, driving Cuesta from all his positions, and advanced to Medellin, where, on the 28th, he defeated that general, with the loss of an immense number killed and made prisoners, and the total rout and disorganization of his army. This blow, however, was not followed up with any vigor, and Victor remained inactive for nearly two months: in the meantime, the retirement of Soult rendered his march abortive, and, in the middle of May, he fell back toward Madrid, and took post at Torremocha. Upon the approach of Wellesley, Victor destroyed the bridge of Alcantara, passed the Tagus at Alvarez, on the 19th of June, and took post at Placentia. On the 22d of June, in obedience to the orders of Joseph, Victor withdrew to Talavera; and, on the same day, the English and Spanish armies, under Wellesley and Cuesta, having effected a junction at Orpesa, came up with the French rearguard near the village of Gamonal. On the 27th, the allied armies took position at Talavera, and on the following day, King Joseph, in accordance with the advice of Victor, and in opposition to that of Jourdan, advanced to give battle. The allied force consisted of about nineteen thousand British and Germans, with thirty guns, and thirty-four thousand Spaniards, with seventy guns; while the French army contained fifty thousand good troops with eighty guns. The battle began about two o'clock, and after four hours of hard fighting, the French attack was repulsed in all quarters. The British loss was about five thousand five hundred, and that of the French about seven thousand five hundred, of whom four thousand were of

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Marshal Victor's corps. After this severe engagement, Victor retired to Maqueda, and Wellesley, menaced by Soult upon his rear, retraced his steps down the valley of the Tagus.

In the invasion of Andalusia, under the orders of King Joseph, in January, 1810, Victor took part, and commanded the right of the army in the irruption through the Sierra-Morena on the 20th of that month. Albuquerque, having interposed in vain to arrest the torrent of invasion, became alarmed for the safety of Cadiz, and retreated rapidly to that city, which he reached on the 3d of February, closely followed by Victor, who began a vigorous blockade of the place. The works constructed for this purpose were of immense extent, being not less than twenty-five miles in length. The blockade was maintained by Victor with great energy until November, at which time Soult took the command, and was preparing for an attack of the place, when he received the emperor's orders to invade Estremadura, in co-operation with Massena's advance into Portugal. In the beginning of March, 1811, an allied army, which sailed out from Cadiz and landed near Algesiras, in the end of February, consisting of about four thousand British troops under General Graham, and eight thousand Spaniards under La Pena, took post at Barosa, for the purpose of making an attempt to drive Victor out of his lines. On the 5th, the French marshal moved out to the attack, and a brief, but fierce contest ensued between the French and English, of which the Spaniards remained unconcerned spectators. The French were defeated, with the loss of above two thousand men killed and wounded, and four hundred taken prisoners; while the British loss

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was not less than twelve hundred, of whom fifty were officers. The utter inactivity and cowardice of the Spanish general, alone, prevented the French from being entirely destroyed.

Victor was recalled from Spain to take the command of the ninth corps of the army in the invasion of Russia, amounting to thirty thousand men. When the emperor advanced to Moscow, this corps was stationed at Smolensk, to preserve the communications of the army; and upon the retreat, Victor protected the rear and displayed the most obstinate courage and endurance, especially at the passage of the Beresina. In the campaign in Saxony, Victor was again at his post, and at the head of the second corps: at the battle of Dresden, he commanded the right wing, which, with the aid of Murat's cavalry, captured so great a number of prisoners. At Leipsig, he fought with his accustomed valor; and in the invasion of France, in the winter of 1813–'14, he defended the passes of the Vosges with heroic resolution, and retarded, though he could not arrest, the avalanche of enemies which rolled over France. Serving with devoted zeal in that small band that rallied so valiantly around the sinking empire, Victor had yet the misfortune at one point of the campaign to incur the displeasure of his master. His corps had been ordered to seize the bridge of Montereau on the day before the battle at that place — a measure which might have obviated the necessity of that engagement, but which the fatigue of the troops prevented their executing. Napoleon, extremely dissatisfied, sent Victor permission to retire from the service, and gave the command of his corps to General Gerard. Victor, with mortification, repaired to Surville, and with deep emotion appealed

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against this decision. Napoleon gave full vent to his indignation, and overwhelmed the unfortunate marshal with expressions of his displeasure. With great difficulty, the marshal obtained a hearing. He then made a protestation of his fidelity, and reminded Napoleon that he was one of his old comrades, and could not quit the army without dishonor. The recollections of Italy were invoked not unsuccessfully. The conversation took a gentler turn, and Napoleon merely suggested that the duke stood in need of a little repose from the exertions of a military life, and that his ill-health and wounds now, probably, rendered him unable to encounter the fatigues of the advanced-guard and the privations of the bivouac. But the emperor's endeavors to induce the marshal to retire were ineffectual. He insisted on remaining with the army; he attempted to justify his tardy advance on the preceding day, but tears interrupted his utterance; if he had committed a military fault, he had dearly paid for it in the fatal wound which his unfortunate son-in-law, General Chateau, had received. At this allusion, Napoleon became deeply affected; he inquired if there was any hope of saving his life, and sympathized sincerely in the grief of the marshal. The duke of Belluno again resuming confidence, declared that he would never quit the army: "I can shoulder a musket," said he; "I have not forgotten the business of a soldier. Victor will range himself in the ranks of the guard." These last words completely subdued Napoleon: "Well, Victor," said he, stretching forth his hand to him, "remain with me. I can not restore you to the command of your corps, because I have appointed General Gerard to succeed you; but I give you the command of two divisions

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of the guard: and now, let everything be forgotten between us."

Upon the establishment of the Bourbons, Victor was created a knight of the order of St. Louis, and governor of the second military division: and upon the return of Napoleon, he used all his endeavors to keep the soldiers to their duty; and being unable to prevent their defection, he followed the king to Ghent, having escaped from Chalons just in time to avoid being arrested. His fidelity was rewarded, upon the second restoration of Louis XVIII., by numerous evidences of the royal approbation. He was created, in 1815, a peer of France, and one of the four major-generals of the royal guard; and in the following year, was made governor of the sixteenth military division, and commander of the order of St. Louis. In 1820, he received the grand cross of the same order; and in 1821, was made commandant extraordinary of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth military divisions; and in the same year, was appointed minister of war. He held this post until 1823, when he was appointed major-general of the army of invasion in Spain. He afterward received the title of minister of state and member of the privy council; and in 1828, was called to the superior council of war. After the revolution of 1830, he fell into disfavor with Louis Philippe, from his supposed connexion with the designs of the Carlists. He died at Paris, on the 1st of March, 1841, at the age of seventy-six.

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BON-ADRIEN DE MONCEY.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, MAY 19, 1804.

DUKE OF CONEGLIANO.

AMIDST the tumults of revolutionary excitements, when the passions of men become at once sordid and violent, and the changes of public government are the wreck of private honor, the character of Marshal Moncey — spotless, gentle, faithful, firm, disinterested, and incorruptible — stands forth in a grandeur and elevation, purely beautiful; august in the lineaments of its dignity, and graceful with something of heroic nobleness; reviving, in a debased age, the model of a genuine greatness, which recognised duty as superior to self, which was always obedient to the sanctity of truth, and in which honor was the guide of the conduct, as well as the boast of the lips. He received the confidence, and deserved the honors of the republic, the empire, and the kingdom; finding in each of these, the representative of that public to which his service was due, and the opportunity to illustrate his superiority to all considerations of person and of accident. A soldier of Louis XV., an officer of Louis XVI., a general under the convention and the directory, a marshal and duke under the empire, made a peer of France under the first brief restoration, and a senator during the "hundred days," and, afterward, a recipient of the favors of

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the antagonist houses of Bourbon and of Orleans; he was true to all these dynasties, simply because he was always loyal to those sentiments of truth and those principles of duty which became the inspiration of his being, and grew to be "a light, that made the path before him always bright." Beneath the changeable and perplexing phantasms of power and greatness in France, which deluded the constancy and ruined the integrity of so many, there were certain permanent sentiments of patriotism, social duty, and personal dignity, on which the character of Moncey established itself in immovable firmness, and found repose amidst all agitations. "Moncey was an honest man," said Napoleon: and he was honest at a time, when, to be so, implied the clearest, coolest, and strongest judgment, a spirit elevated above the shafts of selfish temptation, and an understanding proof against all the impostures of ambition.

Bon-Adrien Jannot de Moncey, was born at Palisse, in the hamlet of Moncey, near Besançon, on the 31st of July, 1754. His father, a respectable advocate, was desirous of educating his son to the same profession; but so strong was young Moncey's inclination for a more exciting profession, that, before his studies were finished, he enrolled himself, without the knowledge of his friends, in the regiment of Conti. After six months' service, his family bought his discharge, and it was hoped that the experience he had had would cure him of his fondness for a soldier's life; but he very soon enlisted again in the regiment of Champagne, and continued to serve as a simple grenadier, until 1773. After a campaign, in Brittany, he consented again to abandon the army, and devote himself to the

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study of the law; but finding this employment intolerably irksome, he again enlisted in the light horse, in 1774, and in 1778, became sub-lieutenant of dragoons, in the volunteer regiment of Nassau-Siégen. This regiment having been, afterward, formed into the third battalion of light infantry, Moncey was appointed captain, in 1791; and, when the battalion was incorporated in the army of the eastern Pyrenees, he became its major, in June, 1793, and, in the following year, was appointed brigadier-general, general of division, and commander-in-chief. The modesty which was so striking a feature in an age of universal ambition, induced Moncey to decline the last of these appointments, as above the measure of his capacity; but the committee of public safety, with a graceful compliment to his merit and diffidence, insisted upon his accepting it. He continued in command until peace was signed, in 1795; and, though thwarted and annoyed by the commissioners who attended him, distinguished himself against Count Colomera, especially by the seizure of the vale of Roncevaux, where the commissioners destroyed the pyramid that had been erected to commemorate the defeat of Charlemagne, by the capture of Bergara, and the founderies of Ascoitia and Aspeitia, and by the victory of Maquirnechu. On the 1st of September, 1795, Moncey was placed in command of the army on the coast of Brest; and, in 1796, was transferred to the head of the eleventh military division, at Bayonne, and, afterward, of the fifteenth division, at Lyons. At the opening of the campaign of Marengo, he was commanding, in Switzerland, a detachment of the army of the Rhine, under Moreau, and was ordered to pass into Italy, by the Mont St. Gothard and by the

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Simplon, with fifteen thousand men, and move upon Belinzona, to unite with the first consul, about Milan. This perilous enterprise was executed with skill and success; Moncey reached Belinzona on the 22d of May; and, while Napoleon destroyed the Austrian army at Marengo, Moncey's corps occupied the positions along the Adda, the Tesino, and the Po. Subsequently, he passed the Mincio, and marched to the Adige, driving Hohenzollern and Laudon before him; and, the latter general, surrounded by Moncey and Macdonald, in the Tyrol, escaped capture only by announcing that an armistice had been concluded between the commanders-in-chief; a device too frequent in the practices of Napoleon, but to which the honorable mind of Moncey became a dupe.

In 1801, when the corps of *gendarmerie* was established, upon the model of the ancient marshelsea, Moncey, impressed with the great responsibility belonging to the control of a body, whose military and civil functions connected it so vitally with the safety of the empire, advised Napoleon to give the command of it to one of his brothers. "It can not be in surer hands than Moncey's," said Napoleon, signing the commission which appointed him the first inspector-general of this magnificent body. "It was the lot of the marshal Moncey," said President Dupin, in a eulogy pronounced upon him after his death, "to raise the dignity of every employment which he undertook to administer. By the civil instructions, and the moral sentiments which he imparted to the gendarmerie, he made that service a kind of magistracy, of infinite use to the administration of justice and the laws. He thus established one of the most solid foundations of the public

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security, and one of the valuable means of supervision, good order, and prompt as well as exact information." In 1804, Moncey received the highest military rank of marshal of the empire, and became, soon after, a grand-officer of the legion of honor; and, in 1808, was created duke of Conegliano.

In December, 1807, Moncey commanded the corps, which, under the title of the army of observation of the coast, entered the Spanish territory from Bayonne. His firmness and moderation, at Madrid, restored order after the rashness of Murat had created an alarming tumult. In June, 1808, he led an attack upon Valencia, which, though unsuccessful did not diminish his reputation for vigor and bravery. Toward the close of that year, his corps, and Mortier's, were occupied with the siege of Saragossa, which proceeded rather ineffectively, until Lannes took the supreme command. In September, 1809, Moncey was transferred to the head of the army of reserve of the north of France, and received the title of grand-dignitary of the order of the crown of iron; and, in 1813, he was named commander-in-chief of the army of reserve of the Pyrenees.

On the 8th of January, 1814, the emperor confided to Marshal Moncey the responsible, and now active, office of major-general of the national guard of Paris; and the marshal swore to defend, to the last extremity, the walls of the capital. This solemn pledge was nobly redeemed. At the battle of Paris, on the 30th of March, the national guard, amounting to twelve thousand men, destined to act as the reserve of the army, were drawn up at sunrise, and harangued by the duke of Conegliano, with a spirit worthy of the momentous

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nature of the contest. From the barrier of Neuilly, to that of Clichy, the line was defended by the guard alone, and they were engaged with all the valor of veteran heroes, when the proclamation of the armistice which Marmont and Mortier had concluded, arrested their devotion. Moncey fired the last shots that signalized that long and obstinate defence, and then resigned his authority to the duke of Montmorency, in order to join the army which had left Paris. When the abdication of the emperor had taken place, Moncey gave his support to the royal government, and on the 10th of April, 1814, secured, at Fontainbleau, the adhesion of the gendarmes to the new sovereign. Louis XVIII. hastened to testify his sense of the exalted character of Moncey, by heaping upon him all the honors which could attest his respect. He continued him in the post of inspector-general of the gendarmerie; and on the 13th of May, appointed him a minister of state; on the 2d of June, named him a chevalier of the order of St. Louis, and on the 4th of the same month, elevated him to the rank of a peer of France.

When Napoleon landed again in France, and hastening forward, to Paris, on the wings of enthusiasm, summoned his old comrades to rally about his standard, Moncey compared the emotions which he felt, to those of a bride, who, after the indissoluble bonds of a marriage of reason have attached her to another, beholds the object of her heart's affections suddenly reappear before her. But the moral principles of this ancient soldier, were as firm and self-controlling, as his feelings were vivid; his duty to that empire, to which he had pledged his allegiance, was too clear to the mind of this right-thinking hero, to permit any inclinations of

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passion to force their way. He addressed to his troops the following order of the day: "Gendarmes! Bonaparte has entered one of our provinces with arms in his hands. The enemies of the throne, and of the country, will seek to kindle, from this event, the flames of a civil war. Their rash and criminal attempt will be in vain. I am sure of the sentiments of honor which animate your breasts; and to signalize your loyalty by the most decisive process, you will seize this occasion to give the best of kings an evidence of a devotion that knows no limits, and to make good the fidelity which you have sworn to bear him." The emperor himself, afterward, spoke in high terms of Moncey's conduct, and, after his sway had become the established and unquestionable government of France, he conferred upon him the rank of senator.

Upon the reaccession of Louis XVIII., Moncey was called upon to preside in the council of war assembled to pass sentence on Marshal Ney, but he promptly and indignantly refused, in a letter (already referred to in the life of Ney) which breathes the resentments of justice and of honor in terms of dignified rebuke and defiance. "If, sire," concludes this noble monument of personal independence and self-respect, "it is not granted to me to save my country or my life, at least I will save my honor; and if any regret remains to me, it is that I have lived too long in surviving the glory of my country." The lofty language in which this protest was conveyed could scarcely escape some marks of the royal displeasure; and Moncey was deprived of his military functions, and sent for three months to the castle of Ham, then guarded by the Prussians. The officer in command declared that he received the illustrious warrior only as

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his guest: he received a Prussian guard of honor to protect the house where he resided; entertainments were given to him; and his residence at the castle was a continual ovation, rather than a disgrace. But it was not long before the elevated character of Moncey was acknowledged with increased respect, even by those who had been mortified by so striking a display of it: the king restored him to his honors and titles, and received him at court with the other dignitaries of the kingdom.

In 1823, he received the command of the fourth corps of the army of the Pyrenees, in the duke d'Angouleme's invasion of Spain. On the 17th of September, 1833, Marshal Moncey, upon the death of Marshal Jourdan, was spontaneously nominated by the king to be the governor of the hotel des Invalides. "This post," says Dupin, "is, perhaps, the only one of which the marshal was really ambitious. He was delighted with the idea of watching over the welfare of his companions in arms. An invalid himself, he brought to his duties all the ardor of a heart which alone retained the vigor of youth." Though in his eightieth year when he entered upon this employment, he performed its labors with earnest fidelity, and became an object of veneration and love to those over whom he watched with the tenderness of a father. It was a striking evidence of the uncommon prolongation of the life of this veteran, that the last days of one who was a youth of fifteen years old at the birth of Napoleon should have been honored by the duty of receiving the remains of the emperor when they came home "to rest on the banks of the Seine, in the bosom of the country which he had loved so well." It was at the close of 1840 that the body of Napoleon

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arrived under the dome of the Invalides. Moncey, no longer able to walk, was carried in a chair and seated by the spot where the august ashes were to repose. As the sublime remains of the conqueror of the world advanced into the mighty nave, the venerable old man was seen to make a last, but vain attempt to rise. "Maintenant," he muttered, inclining his snow-white head toward the tomb, of which the guardianship was confided to him — "Maintenant, j'ai assez vécu!" The life of this interesting veteran was not much further extended: he died on the 20th of April, 1842, one of the oldest and the bravest of the soldiers of Europe. Conscious of the integrity of his career, and grateful for the rewards which it had met with, the last words which he uttered were, "Que chacun remplisse et finisse sa carrière comme moi!" On the 25th of April, a discourse was pronounced at his obsequies by Marshal Soult; and on another occasion, the president Dupin bore an honorable and earnest testimony to the excellence of his private career and the purity of his civil virtues.

The heart of Moncey was overflowing with kindly feelings for those who were the proper objects of indulgence and consideration. "In the person of Marshal Moncey," says Dupin, "the importance of every command which he received was heightened by the virtues which adorned his character. Full of humanity and care for the conquered, he was severe to the officers under his orders, always occupied about the welfare of the soldiers, just toward all men, and in relation to himself of a chivalrous disinterestedness." When he commanded in Italy, in 1801, the municipality of Milan offered him a pension of four hundred thousand livres a year, by way of indemnity for the sufferings and pri-

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vations of war. "My government," said Moncey, "pays me in full; but since you understand that the soldier suffers, give each fusileer four sous a day: the generals will be satisfied." It was a maxim with him, that an officer should retire after the soldiers and rise before them. The interest which he felt for the old partners of his dangers and his toils, extended to a class who could make him no return for the bounty which they received. He kept twenty-nine war-horses, which he refused to sell, and suffered to die quietly of old age in his stables.

Marshal Moncey married, on the 30th of September, 1790, Charlotte Remillet, daughter of Claude Antony Remillet; and the lady, surviving her husband but three-and-twenty days, died at Besançon, on the 13th of May, 1842, aged eighty-two years. In December, 1817, the marshal had the misfortune to lose his only son, a colonel in a regiment of huzzars, a youth of twenty-five years, full of the noblest promise. As he was leaping a ditch, he chanced to lean upon his gun; a branch caught the trigger, and he was killed upon the spot. Two daughters, however, survived the marshal: the elder married to Colonel Bourlon, who has taken, in addition, the name of Moncey; and another married to Baron Duchesne de Gilvoisin, who was authorized by an ordinance of Louis Philippe to take the title of duke of Conégliano.

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AUGUSTUS FREDERIC MARMONT.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, JULY 12, 1809.

DUKE OF RAGUSA.

THE career of the duke of Ragusa, illustrates the observation, that "'to be weak' is to be wicked, as well as 'to be miserable.'" With no greater fault than vanity, with no other defects than dread of responsibility, and want of moral courage, he incurred all the odium of treachery and cowardice, and whatever else can disgrace a soldier and a man. Connected, immortally, with the history of Wellington and of Napoleon, as having afforded to the former, occasion to show one of the most brilliant exercises in war, that the world ever saw, and as having consigned the latter to hopeless overthrow, he stands gibbeted in a kind of infamy the least endurable; an object not of indignation and hatred, but of mingled contempt, compassion, and disgust.

Augustus Frederic Louis Viesse de Marmont, was born on the 20th of July, 1774, at Chatillon-sur-Seine, where his father resided, a knight of the order of St. Louis, and seigneur of Sainte-Colombe, a man of ancient family and considerable fortune, and a proprietor of some iron works in Burgundy. The young Marmont, feeling a strong inclination for a military life, endeavored to obtain entrance into the royal artillery, but,

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not succeeding, he joined a provincial regiment. He was, afterward, recommended to the friendship and patronage of Napoleon, by an uncle who had been among his school-fellows at Brienne, and his comrade in the regiment of La Fère, and who emigrated at the revolution. "This circumstance," said the emperor, "imposed upon me the obligation of acting the part of his uncle and his father, which I literally did. I took a real interest in his welfare, and felt a pleasure in advancing his fortunes." In 1792, with the rank of lieutenant of artillery, Marmont served in the army of the Moselle, and then, rising to the grade of captain, passed to the army of the Alps, and, afterward, to that of the Pyrenees; and, in 1794 and 1795, he was employed in the armies of Italy and Mayence. Here he attracted attention by his intrepidity and coolness amid scenes of danger. In 1796, he was made first aide-de-camp to Napoleon, with the rank of major, and distinguished himself by his gallantry at Lodi and Castiglione. He was sent up to Paris with the colors taken in the battles of Roveredo, Bassano, and Saint Georges, and the actions of Primolano and Cismone. He returned to Italy with the rank of *chef de brigade*, conferred by the directory. In April, 1798, he was married, under the auspices of Bonaparte, to Mademoiselle Hortense Perregaux.

When the expedition to Egypt was undertaken, Marmont was selected as one of its officers. He took a distinguished part in the seizure of Malta, and was reported to have taken, with his own hands, the flag of the order. For this exploit he received the appointment of brigadier-general of artillery. He signalized himself at the assault of Alexandria; and, upon Napo-

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leon's excursion to Alexandria, he was made governor of that city, in which post he conducted himself so well, especially during the ravages of the plague, as to gain the approbation of the general-in-chief. Napoleon, however, reproached him for not having resisted the landing of the Turks at Aboukir; Marmont replied that he had but twelve hundred men, and the Turks were eighteen thousand."—"Well," replied Napoleon, "with your twelve hundred men, I should have marched to Constantinople."

Upon the return to France, Marmont took a part in the events of the 18th of Brumaire, and upon the establishment of the consulate, was made commander-in-chief of the artillery of the army of reserve, which Napoleon led to Marengo. Marmont's skill and activity in the organizing of this arm, and in the conduct of it during the campaign, were eminently conspicuous. His efforts during this expedition, were rewarded by a promotion to the rank of general of division. At the close of the Italian war, he was selected by Brune to negotiate the armistice of Treviso. In 1802, he was appointed first inspector-general of artillery, and, in 1804 was made commander-in-chief of the camp at Utrecht. In the following year, he made the campaign of Austerlitz, with the rank of colonel-general of the *chasseurs-à-cheval*. In 1806, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Dalmatia, where he remained until 1809. On the 30th of September, 1806, with six thousand men, he defeated a combined army of six thousand Russians, and ten thousand Montenegrians, near Old Ragusa, and succeeded in pacificating the country confided to his care. Marmont had been created, in 1806, grand-eagle of the legion of honor,

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and commander of the order of the iron crown; and in 1808, his services in Dalmatia were acknowledged by the title of duke of Ragusa.

After the battle of Essling, orders were sent to Marmont, then commanding two divisions in Dalmatia, to hasten up. The disaffection created by the result of that battle, rendered the movement extremely difficult and perilous; nevertheless, this general, animated by a sentiment more active than a mere love of duty, conquered every obstacle, and brought up a noble body of veterans, to the great satisfaction of the emperor. He received the command of the eleventh corps of the grand army, and his conduct at Wagram, and in the subsequent pursuit, was so much approved that, on the 12th of July, 1809, on the same day with Macdonald and Oudinot, he was elevated to the dignity of marshal of the empire. Marmont had not been on the field of battle since Marengo, and he well knew that he owed this exalted mark of distinction solely to the emperor's personal regard. In the intoxication of joy which he felt at being named a marshal of France, he could find no expressions strong enough to express his sense of the emperor's bounty; and the professions which he made of his determination to devote his life to the service and honor of his sovereign, struck the bystanders as noble effusions of feeling. Soon after, he was sent as governor to the Illyrian provinces, where his administration was mild and judicious.

Upon the return of Massena from Portugal, in 1811, on account of his impaired health, Marmont was recalled from Illyria, and sent to take the head of the army of Portugal. The troops at that time were in a bad condition; discipline had been neglected, and sup-

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plies were deficient. Marmont restored order and reorganized the various corps, with great activity and skill. But in his conduct as leader of the military operations in that part of the peninsula, the duke of Ragusa showed a total incapacity for his station. His enterprises were ill-judged, and the execution of them tardy and feeble; and he may justly be referred to as the author of the ruin of the French cause in Spain and Portugal. Having, in the first instance, co-operated with Soult, and obtained some advantages in the direction of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, he lost, from want of sagacity and vigor, a very favorable opportunity to attack Wellington's divided army at Elbodon and Guinaldo, on the 24th and 25th of September, 1811, and took up an extended line of cantonments between Salamanca and Toledo. Wellington, profiting by the imbecility of his opponent, reduced Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo without the French commander's taking any efficient step to raise the sieges.

In June, 1812, Marmont assumed an activity which was more completely fatal to his cause than his previous inaction had been. Then took place a series of movements and counter-movements, of advances and retreats, between Wellington and himself, which resembled a game of chess between a cautious, profoundly able master, and a showy, dashing, superficial opponent, in which the contest seems to hang doubtful, while the former is feeling the strength and taking the measure of his antagonist, whom, at the proper moment, he suddenly overwhelms by a combination which displays his immeasurable superiority. In June, Wellington advanced to the Tormes and laid siege to the forts of Salamanca Marmont retired for a time, but again advanced, and

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the allies yielded to his approach; but presently resuming the offensive, the forts of Salamanca were taken, and the French were compelled to withdraw behind the Douro. On the 18th of July, Marmont repassed the Douro, and superior in effective strength, obliged Wellington to retire upon Salamanca. The French, in these operations, had obtained a decided advantage over their opponents, and Wellington's situation was critical; but Marmont, who expected soon to be superseded by the arrival of King Joseph, hastened to snatch the glory of a decisive victory, and, in his rashness, ruined himself and his emperor for ever. Near Salamanca, and covering the communication with that city and with Ciudad Rodrigo, which was the line of Wellington's retreat, are two rocky heights called the Arapeiles. On the morning of the 22d, a contest for these important heights took place, which resulted in the French seizing the more distant one, and the English holding the one nearer to Salamanca. This position on the part of the French rendered Wellington's communications with Ciudad Rodrigo hazardous, and Marmont conceived a plan for menacing and assailing them still more decisively. For this purpose, he ordered his left wing, under Thomières, to stretch forward toward Ciudad Rodrigo, intending to face his whole army toward the road from Salamanca to that city, for the purpose of attacking Wellington in flank as he moved past in his retreat. A brilliant delusion, in which he forgot the perils to which he exposed himself: for, in the execution of his complicated evolution, he was changing his front in presence of the enemy, and was moving laterally past the position of his opponent. He was operating in the *face* of the "sun of Austerlitz." About three

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o'clock, intelligence of these motions was brought to Wellington: he immediately ascended the English Arapeiles, and watched with stern satisfaction the flank movement of Thomières, who had now advanced so far as to be completely separated from the centre. Turning to the Spanish general beside him, he said, "Mon cher Alava, Marmont est perdu!" and then issuing his orders with the utmost rapidity and decision, in a moment his army was sweeping forward like a tempest upon the flank of Thomières. It was a stroke of lightning from a clear sky: the overthrow was instantaneous and total. A French officer described it as "the beating of forty thousand men in forty minutes." Marmont at the beginning of the attack was badly wounded by the explosion of a shell. This victory on the part of Wellington was not only one of the most brilliant ever gained, but one of the most important in its consequences; for it at once delivered the south of Spain, expelled Soult from Andalusia, and ruined the French cause in the peninsula. Napoleon received intelligence of it shortly before the battle of Borodino; and wrote to the minister of war, on the 2d of September, 1812, a letter full of just indignation, yet breathing personal kindness for his friend and pupil. "It is impossible," he writes, "to conceive of anything more senseless than the duke of Ragusa's report of the battle of the 22d of July. It is as full of stuff and wheelwork as a clock, and does not contain a word that gives information of the true state of affairs. *Wait till the duke of Ragusa has recovered from his wound, and till his health is almost entirely restored* — then ask him, categorically, these questions: Why did he deliver battle without the orders of the king, his general-in-chief? Why did he not subordi-

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nate his movements to the general system of my operations in Spain? There is there a crime of insubordination which has been the cause of all the disasters of this affair. * * * It is a reasonable conclusion, that this marshal has been afraid lest the king should participate in the success of the battle, and that he has sacrificed to vanity the glory of the country and the good of my service."

The French army was saved from destruction by General Clausel, who succeeded to the command, and Marmont returned to France to recover from his wounds. He served in the campaign of Saxony, and fought at Lutzen, Bautzen, and Dresden, with a vigor which, in some degree, retrieved his military reputation.

In 1814, Marmont made the campaign of France with the most conspicuous devotion and bravery. After the unsuccessful engagement at Brienne, on the 1st of February, the French army crossed to the left bank of the Aube, with the exception of Marmont's corps, which remained on the right bank, to cover the movement of the rest of the army, and intended to retire toward Arcis. Here, on the 2d, he was pressed by Wrede at the head of the Bavarian troops, who attempted to turn him and cut off his retreat. Already they had occupied the village of Rosnay, and intercepted the passage of the Voire; and the destruction of the French marshal seemed inevitable. The commander and his troops were alike impressed with the seriousness of the moment. Marmont drew his sword, and gave the signal for a charge: his corps rushed forward with bayonets extended, and twenty-five thousand Bavarians were put to the rout. "If the muse of history," says the baron Fain, "should be hereafter induced to obliterate some pages of her

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book, let her, at least, for the honor of the duke of Ragusa, preserve that in which the battle of Rosnay is recorded! That exploit amply justifies the confidence which Napoleon placed in the intrepidity of Marmont."

In the movement from the Seine toward the Marne, on the 9th and 10th of February, Marmont led the advanced-guard: he took an important part in the battle of Champaubert, and when Napoleon moved to the left in pursuit of York and Sacken, Marmont proceeded in the opposite direction to intercept Blucher. At Vauchamps, he sustained the shock of the Prussian field-marshal, until the arrival of the rest of the French troops gave him relief and victory. When Napoleon returned to the rescue of Macdonald and Oudinot on the Seine, Marmont and Mortier remained to oppose the Russians and Prussians in the north. On the night of the 9th–10th of March, the eve of the intended battle of Laon, Marmont's corps was suddenly attacked at night by very superior numbers of the Prussian army, and thrown into such disorder and dispersion, that the retirement of the whole army became necessary. Napoleon soon after passed over to the Aube, and Marmont and Mortier were left to dispute the approaches to the capital upon the north. After the battle of Arcis-sur-l'Aube, they supposed that the emperor was effecting his retreat toward them, and they therefore thought it their duty to move forward upon their right to meet him. The messengers that had been despatched to give notice of Napoleon's movement upon Saint-Dizier did not arrive. The marshals marched from Chateau-Thierry upon Fere-Champenoise, where they fell in with the whole body of the allied armies, who were now pressing on

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to Paris, and on the 25th of March were routed with great loss.

After the battle of Fere-Champenoise, Marmont and Mortier retired rapidly through Sezanne and narrowly escaping being cut off at La Ferté-Gaucher, reached the capital on the 29th. At the battle of Paris, which began at daybreak, on the 30th, Marmont commanded the right, and Mortier the left, while Moncey, with the national guard and the pupils of the Polytechnic school formed a reserve. The conduct of Marmont, on this day, was unexceptionable for courage and gallantry. Putting himself forward in every part of the contest, a dozen men were killed by the bayonet at his side, and his hat was perforated by a ball. His corps was reduced to between seven and eight thousand infantry, and eight hundred cavalry, with whom, for twelve hours, he sustained himself against an army of fifty thousand men. About noon, the marshals made known to Joseph, who had been appointed lieutenant-general of the empire, the desperate position of affairs. They received the following reply:—

"If the dukes of Ragusa and Treviso can no longer hold out, they are authorized to negotiate with Prince Schwartzenberg and the emperor of Russia, who are before them.

"They will fall back on the Loire. JOSEPH.

"MONTMARTRE, *March* 30, 1814.
"Quarter-past 12 o'clock."

Joseph had no sooner signed this, than he repaired to the Bois de Boulogne, gained the Versailles road, and set out precipitately for Rambouillet. The marshals, however, still held out, until at four o'clock in the afternoon, a suspension of arms was agreed upon.

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"Methinks I still see Marmont," writes an officer of the national guard, "when, on the evening of the 30th of March, he returned from the field of battle to his hotel in the Rue de Paradis, where I was waiting for him, together with about twenty other persons. When he entered he was scarcely recognisable. He had a beard of eight days' growth; the great-coat, which covered his uniform, was in tatters, and he was blackened with powder from head to foot." On the morning of the 31st, at about six o'clock, the emperor reached Fontainebleau, and in the evening he sent for Marmont, who had just arrived with his troop, at Essonne. The marshal came to him, between three and four o'clock, on the morning of the 1st of April, and the emperor received a detailed account of his proceedings, and bestowed much praise on his gallant conduct before Paris.

On the 2d of April, the senate published a senatus consultum, declaring Napoleon's forfeiture of the throne, and abolishing the right of succession in his family. This was sent to all the marshals. Montessiers carried it to Marmont, who, surrounded by persons eager to terminate the anarchy that existed, agreed to give his adhesion to the provisional government, on condition that the troops who might quit Napoleon's standard, should be allowed to retire into Normandy, and that the life and liberty of Napoleon, in a circumscribed space, should be guarantied. At the same time, he gave orders for the troops, which were under his command, to pass over from Essonne and Fontainebleau, to Versailles and the quarters of the allies. So long as Napoleon was at the head of the army, his situation was formidable, and he might have required any

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terms that he saw fit: but, by the treachery and desertion of the chief to whom he had intrusted the arm of his power, his position became desperate, and he was a prisoner in the hands of his enemies. It may safely be said that, but for the desertion of Marmont, Napoleon would have succeeded in establishing the regency of Maria Louisa, and the succession of his son: the faithlessness of his trusted friend and officer caused the ruin of the imperial family. It was on the night of the 4th, that Gourgaud, who had been sent to Essonne with orders, returned to Fontainebleau with the utmost speed, to announce the defection of Marmont, and the removal of the soldiers. The emperor, at first, refused to credit it, and when the truth could no longer be doubted, his eyes grew fixed, and he threw himself into a chair, overwhelmed by amazement and grief. After a long silence, he exclaimed, "Ungrateful man! but he will be more unhappy than I."

On the 5th, the emperor issued an order of the day to the army, in which he gave utterance to the deep indignation which had been inspired by the conduct of the senate and of Marmont. In relation to the latter, he spoke as follows: "The emperor thanks the army for the attachment which it has evinced for him, especially, because it acknowledges that France is with him and not with the people of the capital. It is the soldier's duty to follow the fortune and the misfortune of his general: that is his honor and religion. The duke of Ragusa has not sought to inspire this sentiment in the breasts of his troops. He has gone over to the allies. The emperor can not approve of the condition on which he has taken this step: he can not accept of life and liberty at the mercy of a subject."

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Napoleon ever spoke of Marmont's conduct as the cause of his destruction: yet he alluded to him feelingly, and commented with discrimination upon his motives and his moral qualities. "I have been betrayed," said he at St. Helena, "by Marmont, whom I might call my son, my offspring, my own work; by him to whom I had committed my destiny, by sending him to Paris, at the very moment when he was putting the finishing stroke to his treason and my ruin." At another time he said, "Posterity will justly cast a shade upon his character; yet his heart will be more valued than the memory of his career." Again, alluding to this subject, he spoke of Marmont as a person to whom he had been much attached, and whose defection had proved a severe wound to his heart; he added, that from what he knew of the marshal, "he was sure he must occasionally suffer deeply from remorse. Never," he observed, "was defection more fatal, or more decidedly avowed. It was recorded in the Moniteur, and by his own hand. It was the immediate cause of our disasters, the grave of our power, the cloud of our glory. And yet," he continued, in a tone of affection, "I am convinced his sentiments are better than his character; his heart is superior to his conduct. Of this, he himself appears to be conscious. The newspapers inform us that when soliciting, vainly, for the pardon of Lavalette, he exclaimed with warmth, in reply to the obstacles urged by the monarch, 'Sire, have I not given you more than life?' We were, it is true, betrayed by others, and in a manner still more vile; but no other act of apostacy was so solemnly recorded by official documents." He said that, notwithstanding the occupation of Paris by the allies, had it not been for the

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treachery of this marshal, he would have driven them out of France. His plan was to have entered the city, in the dead of night, and to have excited the citizens and canaille to attack the allies from the houses. "Marmont," said he to O'Meara, "will be an object of horror to posterity. As long as France exists, the name of Marmont will not be mentioned without shuddering. He feels it, and is at this moment, perhaps, the most miserable man in existence. He can not forgive himself, and will terminate his life like Judas."

Marmont was made a peer of France, by Louis XVIII., and appointed captain of the king's body-guard. Napoleon, upon his landing in France, denounced Marmont as a traitor; and excepted him from the amnesty which he published at Lyons, on the 12th of March. The marshal commanded the army that covered the retirement of the king; and then went, himself, to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he remained during the "hundred days." Upon the second return of the Bourbons, he was appointed one of the four marshals in command of the royal guard. In 1817, he was sent to Lyons with extraordinary powers, as lieutenant of the king, to pacify the disturbances in that region; a mission which he executed with success. The same year, he was made a minister of state, and member of the privy council. In 1820, he was created grand-cross of the order of St. Louis, and a knight of the order of the Holy Ghost; and in 1821, received the government of the first military division. Upon the accession of the emperor Nicholas, the duke of Ragusa was sent to the court of Russia, as extraordinary ambassador, to assist at the coronation of the emperor. For two or three years after his return, he occupied

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himself extensively in agricultural operations, and in working the iron forges which belonged to his hereditary estates. In these speculations his fortune was much impaired.

At the time of the revolution of 1830, Marmont was intrusted by Charles X. with the suppression of the insurrection, and the preservation of order in Paris. Here his conduct was imbecile in the last degree: his dispositions were the most injudicious, his operations the most feeble, that could be imagined. He ruined the cause of the Bourbons, as he had that of the Bonapartes. By many, he was accused of intentional treachery; but his known want of judgment, vigor, and coolness, and his dread of political responsibility, were sufficient to explain his disgraceful conduct. Since that period he has been an exile from his country, and a wanderer through Europe, his principal residence being at Vienna. He has published an account of his travels, in six volumes. In 1845, he published a work entitled, "Esprit des Institutions Militaires."

Marmont was well instructed in his profession, and possessed a superior degree of military science. His courage and endurance, also, were unquestionable. He was well qualified to organize an artillery corps, and to command it efficiently. But his capacity was totally incommensurate with the complicated and great duties of a general-in-chief. He was ruined by his vanity: and the real merit which he possessed was shipwrecked, by his being placed in situations too great for both his mental and his moral abilities.

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STEPHEN MACDONALD.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE.

DUKE OF TARENTO.

STEPHEN JAMES JOSEPH ALEXANDER MACDONALD, the son of Noel Stephen Macdonald and Alexandrina Gonant, was born at Sancerre, in Berry, on the 17th of November, 1765. He was descended from an eminent Scottish family, which had followed the fortunes of their sovereigns of the house of Stuart to France, and there fixed their residence. The young Macdonald, having completed his studies, entered the legion of Maillebois in 1784, and was appointed a sub-lieutenant in the regiment of Dillon in 1787. In 1791, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant; and in the following year, was made a captain, and an aide-de-camp to Generals Dumouriez and Bournonville in the army of the north. At the battles of Valmy and Jemappes, in the autumn of that year, he distinguished himself so honorably by his calm courage and presence of mind, that he was advanced to the grade of colonel in the ninety-fourth infantry. In 1793, he was appointed a brigadier-general, and took an active part in the operations against the allies in the north; and after the retreat of the duke of York, he commanded the advanced-guard which pursued him. In 1794–'95, he served under Pichegru in the celebra-

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ted winter campaign, in which Thiel was taken and the Waal passed. In 1795, he was made general of division, and commanded at Cologne and Dusseldorf in 1796, and afterward in the army of Italy. In 1798, he served under Championnet, in the revolutionary invasion of Rome and Naples by the orders of the directory. After the reduction of Naples, and the establishment of the Parthenopeian republic, Championnet, disgusted by the iniquity and violence of the decrees which he was called upon to execute, refused to obey his instructions, and was, accordingly, deposed and arrested on the 16th of March, 1799, and Macdonald appointed to the chief command in his stead.

The disasters sustained by Jourdan, Scherer, and Moreau, at the beginning of the campaign of 1799, and the prodigious successes of Suwarrow in Lombardy, rendered the evacuation of Naples by the French army indispensable. On the 7th of May, Macdonald commenced his retreat from Naples through Rome and Florence to Lucca, where, after a march conducted with great ability and judgment, he arrived at the close of the month, and entered into communications with Moreau. The allied forces were distributed throughout the country at such distances from one another, that Macdonald hoped to fall upon them separately, and destroy them in detail. On the 7th of June, he crossed the Apennines and marched to Modena, where he attacked Hohenzollern on the 12th and defeated him. He then advanced to Parma, and thence to Placentia, where he was joined by Victor; and having concentrated all his forces, prepared for a general engagement with the allies. Suwarrow, as soon as he had become apprized of Macdonald's approach, recalled his dis-

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persed troops, and rallied all his forces, with a rapidity and decision worthy of Napoleon himself. The hostile armies came into collision on the banks of the Trebbia, on the morning of the 17th of June; and then began the most obstinate and sanguinary of the battles which, till then, had occurred in the experience of the revolutionary armies. The force under Macdonald consisted of about thirty-five thousand men, while the allied army amounted to somewhat more. On the 17th, the French crossed the Trebbia, and drove back the Austrians in disorder; but Suwarrow quickly restored the combat, repulsed the assailants, and drove them beyond the river, into which the Russians attempted to follow them, but were in their turn arrested by the furious discharges of the French batteries. On the 18th, the combat was repeated under similar circumstances: the French crossing the river to the attack, and being driven back again after a sanguinary contest. On the third day, Macdonald, strengthening both his wings, crossed the river with the design of turning both flanks of the allied position: his centre, being thus weakened, was attacked by the reserve under Lichtenstein, and the whole army was again obliged to recross the river. The loss during this three days' battle had been about twelve thousand on each side; but the allies were hourly expecting reinforcements, and Macdonald had been disappointed in not being joined by Moreau. On the night of the 19th, therefore, he drew off his army, and retired to Parma and Placentia, and then with difficulty reached Genoa, by a circuitous course, in the middle of July. In consequence of the state of his health, he was now recalled from the army, and was succeeded by St. Cyr. He was present at Paris on the eighteenth and nineteenth

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of Brumaire, and rendered Napoleon the assistance which is mentioned in the life of the emperor.

On the 24th of August, 1800, Macdonald was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of reserve assembled at Dijon, under the name of the army of the Grisons. In October, it advanced into the Grisons, being intended to pass the Alps, and threaten in flank the imperial army on the Mincio, against which Brune was operating in front. In November and December, Macdonald, at the head of fifteen thousand troops, accomplished, with infinite labor, courage, and perseverance, that immortal passage of the Splugen, which will invest his name for ever with the loftiest honors of heroism. The orders of this commander required him to reach the valley of the Adige; and accordingly, having been repulsed in an attempt to cross Mont Tonal between the Oglio and the Adige, he passed by the Col de San Zeno, ascended the Chieza, and reached Storo, in the Italian Tyrol, on the 5th of January, 1801. He entered Trent on the 6th, and was following the enemy vigorously, when the armistice of Treviso put an end to his progress.

The same year, Macdonald was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Denmark; and after his return thence, was made a grand officer of the legion of honor in 1804. In the years of glory that elapsed between 1801 and 1809, Macdonald took no part in what was going forward. He continued in a kind of disgrace, for which no cause has been assigned but those jealousies and intrigues to which an elevated mind is always exposed. "Malevolence," says the duke of Rovigo, "had succeeded in prevailing upon the emperor to remove him from his presence; and his innate

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pride of heart had prevented his taking any step to be reconciled to a sovereign who did not treat him with that kindness to which he felt that he had a claim." At the opening, however, of the campaign of 1809, the emperor gave him command of a corps under Eugene in Italy; and his conduct and courage in that post, especially at the battle of Piave on the 8th of May, and his subsequent advance into Carniola, established his character as a first-rate soldier. In the concentration of troops that took place after the battle of Essling, he was ordered to advance to Lobau; and the glorious service performed by him at Wagram has already been recorded in the history of that battle. On the 7th of July, 1809, the day after that great battle, Napoleon, in going over the field, as was his custom, encountered Macdonald. He stopped and held out his hand, saying, "Shake hands, Macdonald! no more animosity between us: we must henceforth be friends; and as a pledge of my sincerity, I will send you your marshal's baton, which you so gloriously earned in yesterday's battle." — "Ah! sire," replied Macdonald, "I am henceforth yours, in life and in death!" His appointment bears date the 12th of July; and very soon after, he was created duke of Tarento and grand-eagle of the legion of honor. "The general opinion," says De Bourrienne, "was, that the elevation of Macdonald added less to the marshal's military reputation, than it redounded to the honor of the emperor."

In 1810, Macdonald was sent to Spain, to replace Augereau in the command of the seventh corps of the army in northern Catalonia; and here he was called upon to display all the firmness and strength of his character, in restoring that discipline and decorum to

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the habits of the army which the system of his predecessor had nearly destroyed. The operations of Macdonald in this field of Suchet's peculiar renown, did not add greatly to either his military or his moral reputation. On the 21st of October, he engaged unsuccessfully with O'Donnell at Cardona; and incurred much odium from the unnecessary and wanton burning of Manresa, on the 29th of March, 1811. In August of that year, he retook by blockade the fortress of Figueras, which the Spaniards had captured in the spring.

On the invasion of Russia, in 1812, Macdonald received the command of the tenth corps of the army, thirty thousand strong, composed of one French and two Prussian divisions, and destined for an independent line of operations toward Riga. His movements had been crowned with entire success, and he was in possession of Riga when orders to retreat arrived. He fell back about the 20th of December; and though deprived of half his army by the defection of the Prussian troops, succeeded in reaching Konigsberg on the 3d of January, 1813, with the honor of having commanded the only part of the expedition which had continued successful in the field. In the campaign of Saxony, Macdonald was in command of the eleventh corps of the army, and rendered important service at the battle of Lutzen. After the armistice of Plesswitz, he was placed at the head of the army of Silesia. Here his movements were rash and injudicious, and in opposition to the orders of Napoleon; and on the 26th of August, he was signally defeated by Blucher at the Katzbach, with immense loss of men and artillery. At Leipsig, Macdonald again combated stoutly for the emperor; and at the time of the retreat, received, with

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Poniatowski and Lauriston, the responsible charge of protecting the rear of the army. When the bridge over the Elster was destroyed, Macdonald escaped by swimming the river.

The valor and ability with which Macdonald served during the interesting campaign of 1814, are already recorded in the life of the emperor.

When Napoleon returned to Fontainebleau, Macdonald was in command of the rear-guard of the army, at Montereau. Having received orders to put his troops in motion, to aid the emperor's design of marching upon Paris, he left his corps at Montereau and hastened to Fontainebleau. Admitted to the emperor's presence, on the 2d of April, he pointed out to him the hopeless impossibility of the attempt, especially since the senate had declared his forfeiture of the empire. The emperor became, at length, convinced that an abdication in favor of his son was the least unfavorable result that awaited him. He had been seated during the conversation, and when he had come to the resolution of abdicating, he rose, and walked once or twice up and down his cabinet, and then drew up and signed the act of abdication. He then appointed Caulaincourt, Ney, and Marmont, his commissioners to the allied powers, and after those who surrounded him had expressed their satisfaction at these appointments, he threw himself on a small yellow sofa near the window, and striking his thigh convulsively with his hand, exclaimed, "No, gentlemen, I will have no regency! With my guards and Marmont's corps, I shall be in Paris to-morrow." Macdonald and Ney endeavored to expostulate: but he rose with displeasure, and rubbing his forehead, as he was wont to do when vexed,

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exclaimed in a loud, authoritative tone, "Retire." Some conversation then ensued between Caulaincourt and the emperor, by which the latter seemed to be satisfied. "Vicenza," said he, "call back Macdonald." When the marshal returned, Napoleon's excitement had subsided, and he said with kindness, "Well, duke of Tarento, do you think that the regency is the only possible thing?"—"Yes, sire."—"Then I wish you, instead of Marmont, to go with Ney to the emperor Alexander. It is better that he should remain with the army. You will, therefore, go with Ney. I rely on you. I hope," he added with emotion, and pressing the marshal's hand in the most affectionate manner, "that you have forgotten all that has separated us for so long a time."—"Yes, sire; I have not thought of it since 1809."—"I am glad of it, marshal, and I must acknowledge to you that I was in the wrong." Macdonald, accordingly, accompanied the other commissioners, and maintained the cause of the regency in the presence of the allied powers, with every argument and persuasion which he could command. The emperor of Russia seemed partly inclined to yield to Macdonald's noble appeal, but the king of Prussia was resolute; and the commissioners returned to Fontainebleau about one o'clock, on the morning of the 6th, to inform Napoleon that an unconditional abdication was required. Having received new powers from Napoleon, Ney and Macdonald returned to Paris. On arriving there, Ney sent in his adhesion to the provisional government, so that Macdonald, alone, returned to Napoleon with the definitive treaty of the allies. During the night, the emperor had made an unsuccessful attempt to poison himself. When Macdonald en-

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tered his chamber, he found him dressed in a morning-gown of white dimity, and wearing slippers without stockings, seated in a small arm-chair before the fire-place, his elbows resting on his knees and his head supported by his hands — motionless, and lost in revery. The dukes of Bassano and Vicenza, were with him. "Sire," said the latter, "the duke of Tarento has brought for your signature the treaty which is to be ratified to-morrow." The emperor, as if roused from a lethargic slumber, turned to Macdonald and said, "Ah, marshal, so you are here." He rose, took the treaty, read it, and signed it in silence, and returned it to Macdonald. "I am not rich enough," said he, "to reward these last services."—"Sire, interest never guided my conduct."—"I know that, and I now see how I have been deceived respecting you. I understand, also, the designs of those who prejudiced me against you."—"Sire, I have already told you, as long ago as 1809, that I am devoted to you in life and death."—"I know it; but since I can not recompense you as I desire, let a token of remembrance, at least, assure you that I shall ever bear in mind the service which you have rendered me." Napoleon then turned to Caulaincourt: "Vicenza, ask for the sabre which was given to me by Murad Bey, in Egypt, and which I wore at the battle of Mount Thabor." Constant brought the sword, and the emperor taking it in his hands, presented it to the marshal: "Here, my faithful friend," said he, "is a reward, which, I believe, will gratify you." Macdonald took the sabre, and said, "Sire, I will never part with it while I live: and, if I have a son, this will be his most precious inheritance."—"Give me your hand,"

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said Napoleon, "and embrace me." They rushed into one another's arms affectionately, and parted with tears in their eyes. After a formal and entire abdication had been executed by Napoleon, on the 11th, Macdonald sent in his resignation to the provisional government, in these dignified and manly terms: "Being released from my oaths, by the abdication of the emperor Napoleon, I declare that I adhere to the acts of the senate and the provisional government." He was, afterward, created, by Louis XVIII., a knight of the order of St. Louis, and a peer of France: and appointed governor of the twenty-first military division.

Upon the return of Napoleon, Macdonald exhibited an unwavering fidelity to the house of Bourbon. In company with the comte d'Artois, and the duke of Orleans, he advanced to Lyons, on the 8th of March, and made every effort to keep the army to its allegiance; but the case was hopeless. Macdonald remained until the troops had actually deserted him, and then, with some difficulty, made his escape. Returning to Paris, he vainly united his efforts with those of Mortier, in maintaining the fidelity of the forces in the capital; and, when the king determined to retire, he accompanied the unfortunate monarch as far as Menin, and then returned into France. He declined all Napoleon's offers, and contented himself with doing the duty of a grenadier in the national guard of Paris. After the second restoration, Macdonald retired with the army behind the Loire, and presided over its disbanding. In July, 1815, he was nominated grand-chancellor of the legion of honor, and on the 13th of October, following, was admitted a member of the king's privy council. In subsequent years, he took an important part in

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several civil transactions, and received numerous marks of the royal favor.

A noble instance of the pride and good sense, and manly openness of Macdonald, was afforded in 1815. At that time several marshals claimed from the allied powers their endowments in foreign countries; and Madame Moreau, a friend of Macdonald, wrote, without his knowledge, to M. de Blacas, the French ambassador at Naples, begging him to use his influence to preserve for the marshal, the endowments which had been given him in the kingdom of Naples. Macdonald, when informed of it, expressed his thanks to Madame Moreau, but wrote immediately to M. de Blacas, as follows: "I hasten to acquaint you, sir, that it was not with my consent that Madame Moreau wrote to you, and I beg that you will take no step that might expose me to a refusal. The king of Naples owes me no recompense for having beaten his army, revolutionized his kingdom, and forced him to retire to Sicily." This letter was shown to the king, who replied, "If I had not imposed a law upon myself, to acknowledge none of the French endowments, the conduct of Marshal Macdonald would have induced me to make an exception in his favor."

In 1825, the duke of Tarento visited England and Scotland, where he was warmly received, and where he rendered himself extremely popular, by his liberality and kindness. Upon his return, he was appointed one of the four marshals in command of the royal guard, at the Tuileries. He died in September, 1840, at the chateau of Courcelles, near Gien, at the age of seventy-five. Macdonald was thrice married; the first time to a lady named Jacob; the second time, to the widow

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of General Joubert, a daughter of the marquis of Montholon; and, for the third time, in 1823, to a daughter of the baron de Bourgoing, the French embassador in Saxony. In 1823, a royal ordinance authorized the transmission of his title and rank as peer, to the marquis of Roche-Dragon, his son-in-law.

Macdonald was distinguished for lofty honor, for a firm, proud loyalty, for calm resolution of temper, and indomitable courage; but his abilities were not of a very high order; and in Spain and Silesia, where he held a principal command, his conduct did not elevate his reputation as a general, or a man of intelligence.

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JEAN-BAPTISTE JULES BERNADOTTE.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE.

KING OF SWEDEN.

THE only man in Europe who was insensible to the fascination of Napoleon — the only person whom he could not make instrumental to his designs, either by allurements, or by craft, or by terror — was Bernadotte. The subtle fire of the Corsican's genius played in vain around the hard and selfish independence of the Gascon's character. He, in fact, used Napoleon fearlessly for his own purposes. He refused to aid him when he was struggling for the mastery of France; he quietly availed himself of all the rewards and distinctions which the emperor heaped upon him, and rose by his means to a throne; and then, when his own interests required it, came forward to consign his rival to defeat and exile. The life of such a man would demand an extended memoir: the present limits allow only of tracing that part of his career which connected him with Napoleon.

Jean-Baptiste Jules Bernadotte, afterward Charles XIV., of Sweden, was born at Pau, in Bearn, on the 26th of January, 1763. His father, Henry Bernadotte, was a member of the bar, and designed his second son for the same profession, which an elder brother already

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adorned: but the lad, who was by no means a favorite at home, and who felt his position disagreeable, enlisted, without his father's knowledge, in the regiment called Royal-la-Marine, afterward the sixtieth infantry, on the 3d of September, 1780. This regiment was in garrison on the island of Corsica, and there Bernadotte passed the first two years of his service. A severe illness obliged him to return home toward the close of 1782; but at the end of eighteen months, notwithstanding the entreaties of his family, he rejoined his regiment, and passed gradually through all the degrees of inferior honor. He was made a corporal on the 16th of June, 1785, *fourrier* the 31st of August, following; sergeant, the 21st of June, 1786, sergeant-major, the 11th of May, 1788, and adjutant sub-officer on the 7th of February, 1790. Thus, the future king of Sweden and Norway, served ten years before he obtained the epaulette of a sub-lieutenant.

In 1790, Bernadotte's regiment was in garrison at Marseilles, and here he had an opportunity of saving the life of his colonel, M. d'Ambert, who was suspected of royalism. D'Ambert reported at the war-office so favorably of the merits of his adjutant, that in 1791, Bernadotte received a lieutenancy in the regiment of Anjou, stationed in Bretagne. He used, afterward, to say that he had found it more difficult to obtain a lieutenancy, than to become a marshal of France. He displayed his gratitude to the colonel, in 1799, by his efforts to save his life, which was forfeited under the law against the return of emigrants. In 1793, Bernadotte was promoted to the rank of colonel, and served under General Custine, in the army of the Rhine. The ability and courage which he displayed, during the re-

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treat of Custine to the frontiers, procured him the command of an advanced guard in the army of the north, where the seventy-first demi-brigade, and the third regiment of cavalry, were placed under his orders. About this time, for some cause or other, he had incurred the suspicions of the committee of public safety, who sent an order to General Ferran, and the representative in attendance, to have him arrested and conducted to Paris. The order arrived on the day before the attack of Landrecy, and it was thought advisible to postpone its execution until after the battle: Bernadotte, here, displayed such valor, that, upon the report of the representative, the committee changed the order of arrest for a commission of general of division, which, however, Bernadotte declined, on the ground that, not having passed through the grade of general of brigade, he could not be nominated to a superior rank. Soon after, Bernadotte passed to the army of the Ardennes, and then joined that of Sambre and Meuse. He displayed such gallantry at Fleurus, that, at the request of Kleber, he was nominated a general of brigade on the field of battle. From that time, he took rank as one of the most prominent generals of the republic, and figured in all the most celebrated actions of the army. At the passage of the Roer, the battle of Heinsberg, the battle of Juliers, the siege of Maestricht, and the passage of the Rhine, Bernadotte was equally distinguished for the gallantry with which he fought, and the moderation with which he used the victory.

In 1797, Bernadotte was ordered by the directory to take the command of a corps of twenty thousand men, detached from the army of Sambre and Meuse, for the reinforcement of the army of Italy. At the head of twc

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divisions, he left Metz, passed Mont Cenis in the depth of winter, and joined Napoleon at Milan. From their first interview, these remarkable men regarded one another with an instinctive distrust. "I have seen yonder," said Bernadotte to his staff, when he returned to his quarters, "a man of twenty-six or seven, who wants to appear fifty; that augurs no good for the republic." Napoleon, on his part, spoke of the Gascon extravagance of the new general: he gave him, however, the command of his advanced guard, and in this position, Bernadotte encouraged his men to acts of the utmost gallantry. At the passage of the Isonzo, and the attack of Gradisca, in his eagerness to outrival the achievements of the Italian divisions, he exposed his corps to unnecessary loss and defeat.

After the signature of the preliminaries of Leoben, Bernadotte was placed in command of the corps left by Napoleon on the frontiers of Germany, and was invested, provisionally, with the government of the Frioul and the Venetian states. Shortly before the crisis of the 18th of Fructidor, Napoleon sent Bernadotte up to Paris, upon the same errand upon which Augereau had lately been despatched, but for the ostensible purpose of transmitting to the directory four flags, which, out of the twenty-one taken at Rivoli, had been sent, by mistake, to Peschiera. "Bernadotte, however," says Bourienne, "did not take any great part in the affair: he was always prudent." He returned, soon after, to the government of the Frioul, and the command of the rear-guard of the army of Italy: but Bonaparte's arrangements deprived him of the command of half the troops which he had brought from the Rhine. Bernadotte was indignant: and wrote, both to the directory

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and to Napoleon, complaining of the ill-treatment he had received. The government then conferred upon him the command of the army of Italy, previously held by Berthier; but Napoleon's influence intervened at the moment when he was about to enter upon his new station, and his appointment was changed for an embassy to Vienna. He accepted this with great reluctance. Here his Gascon spirit displayed itself, in a manner that was near proving serious. The inhabitants of the capital celebrated, with much brilliancy, the anniversary of the arming of the volunteers despatched against France; the embassador replied by a splendid fête, the same day, in honor of the victories of the republic, and decorated the front of his hotel with a tri-color flag. An explosion ensued, as might have been expected: the mob broke into the hotel, and Bernadotte and his officers drove them out with firearms. In his report to the directory, however, he endeavored to diminish the insult which the Austrians had offered to the republic, and advised them to accept the apology which the emperor was willing to offer. At the same time, he quitted Vienna and went to Rastadt, to wait for orders. The directory, not pleased with his moderation, appointed him embassador to Holland, which he declined, on the ground of his unfitness for diplomatic duties. Soon after, returning to Paris, he was married to Mademoiselle Desirée Clary, fourth daughter of Madame Clary, the widow of a rich merchant, and sister-in-law of Joseph Bonaparte. Joseph, who wished to attach Bernadotte to the interests of his family, obtained her for him; and the marriage was celebrated on the 16th of August, 1798, in his hotel in the Rue de Rocher. There can be no doubt that this marriage

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had much to do with Bernadotte's subsequent rise. Napoleon seems to have counted a great deal upon the ties of blood and connexion, in attaching persons to his cause; and thus, he heaped honors and power upon those who were allied to him by either, with a prodigality which, by stimulating too great an ambition, generally defeated its own purpose.

In January, 1799, Bernadotte was, a second time, named general-in-chief of the army of Italy, an appointment which he warily declined. He accepted the command, however, of the army of observation on the Rhine: which he shortly changed for the post of minister of war, for which he was indebted to the influence of Joseph and Lucien Bonaparte. In this situation, according to Napoleon, he committed nothing but faults; he organized nothing, and a majority of the directory summarily removed him from the cabinet.

When Napoleon returned from Egypt, Moreau and Bernadotte were the persons then foremost in character and power, and to win them, or to dupe them, was one of the first objects of Napoleon's intrigues. Bernadotte had ceased to be minister of war about three weeks before: he was a sincere republican, a man of the most acute sagacity, of inflexible firmness, and predetermined not to be made use of for the advancement of the Bonapartes. He saw through Napoleon's character and designs; and though he did not become an active foe during the proceedings which led to the eighteenth Brumaire, that scheming soldier found him utterly intractable to his purposes. "I do not fear Moreau," said Napoleon upon his first arrival from Egypt, when discussing the prospect of success: "he is devoid of energy. He prefers military to political power, and

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the promise of the command of an army would gain him over. But Bernadotte has Moorish blood in his veins: he is bold and enterprising: that devil of a fellow is not to be seduced: he is disinterested and clever." A few days after, upon the failure of an attempt to move this impracticable man, he exclaimed, "Bernadotte is a bar of iron." Accordingly, on the 18th of Brumaire, though Joseph induced Bernadotte to come to the house of his brother in the morning, he stole away from the procession which was formed to accompany Napoleon to the Tuileries, and went to join the *Société du Manège*.

Bernadotte, however, had his share in the honors of the consulate. He was appointed a counsellor of state, and soon after named commander-in-chief of the army of the west, and intrusted with the pacification of La Vendée. "His conciliating disposition," says Bourrienne, "his chivalrous manners, his tendency to indulgence, and a happy mixture of prudence and firmness, made him succeed where others would have failed: he finally established good order and submission to the laws." He did not, however, escape the suspicion of having connived at a plot which was formed in the west for the overthrow of the first consul: after his return to Paris, he was more seriously implicated in the various conspiracies which were in progress for his destruction; and it was chiefly owing to the influence of Joseph and his wife, that Bernadotte was not brought to trial. "The first consul," says Gourgaud, "forgot everything; Bernadotte forgot nothing."

In 1803, Napoleon appointed Bernadotte governor-general of Louisiana, which had lately been ceded to France by Spain: the latter readily accepted the nomination; but the rupture of the treaty of Amiens hav-

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ing determined the government to sell Louisiana to the United States, this mission did not take effect. Bernadotte was then commissioned as embassador to the United States; but the vessel had scarcely left the port when it was ordered to return, for the purpose of receiving troops to be conveyed to St. Domingo, and the embassador was officially informed that the negotiation which he was to conduct at Washington had terminated, and that war was declared by England; in consequence of which, his embassy was revoked. On the 19th of May, 1804, Bernadotte was created a marshal of the empire; and soon after, appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Hanover. His administration here was able, judicious, and conciliatory; and his memory was long cherished, with affection and gratitude, by the objects of his government. Upon the opening of the campaign of 1805, the Hanoverian army and the Bavarian troops constituted the first corps of the grand army, and were commanded by Bernadotte. In obedience to Napoleon's orders, he marched through the territory of Prussia, and took post on the Danube between Neuberg and Ingolstadt, to co-operate in the reduction of Ulm; and then passing through Bohemia and Moravia, arrived at Brunn on the 1st of December. At Austerlitz, he fought gallantly in the left wing of the army: and after the treaty of Presburg, he was ordered to occupy the marquisate of Anspach, which was detached from Prussia for the purpose of being annexed to Bavaria. In 1806, Bernadotte was invested with the principality of Ponte-Corvo, "to hold it," said the patent, "as an immediate fief of our crown." Napoleon sought by this accumulation of honors to bind the soldier to his service, either by interest or by gratitude; but his cold

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and jealous temper seemed to grow more envious and impracticable with every evidence which he received of the superior power of his rival. In the campaign of 1806, he again commanded the first corps of the army, and his behavior at Auerstadt excited the deepest indignation of the emperor. The circumstances under which he failed to co-operate with Davoust have been already stated in the life of the latter marshal. Napoleon was so enraged at his conduct, that he is said to have actually signed the order delivering him over to a court-martial to be shot, and to have cancelled it only out of regard for Bernadotte's alliance with Joseph. "Were I to bring him before a court-martial," said the emperor, "he would be shot. I shall say nothing to him about it; but I will take care he shall know what I think of his behavior. He has too keen a sense of honor, not to be aware that he has acted disgracefully." Bourrienne asked Bernadotte if he had heard of these observations: "I think him very likely to have made such remarks," replied the latter: "he hates me, because he knows I do not like him; but let him speak to me, and he shall have his answer. If I am a Gascon, he is a greater one still. I might have felt piqued at receiving something like orders from Davoust, but I did my duty." At the battle of Eylau, Bernadotte was equally unlucky. Orders had been sent to each corps to be at Preuss-Eylau on the 8th of February, 1807: all the corps arrived according to order, with the exception of Bernadotte's. It was alleged that the messenger charged with delivering the instructions to him was captured on the way, and that the message did not reach him. His conduct, however, on these two occasions, viewed in connexion with his known feelings tow-

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ard the emperor, certainly raise suspicions of his fidelity. On the 5th of June, while leading a column which was passing the Passarge at Spandau in the face of the Prussians, he was seriously wounded in the back of the neck, and obliged to retire from the command of his corps, which was soon after given to Victor. On the 14th of July, 1807, he was ordered to occupy the Hanseatic towns, and to take the command-in-chief of the French, Spanish, and Dutch troops, assembled in Hamburg, and act as governor of the whole country: a duty which he discharged with eminent ability and integrity. Toward the end of March, 1809, the prince of Ponte-Corvo was ordered to repair to Dresden, to take charge of the organization of a corps of Saxons intended to form part of the grand army in the approaching war with Austria. He left the banks of the Saale in the end of April, and passing through Plauen, Passau, and Lintz, joined the grand army in the island of Lobau, and took part in the battle of Wagram. His conduct here was the cause of a grand explosion between himself and Napoleon.

From the opening of the campaign, Bernadotte had been complaining of the inexperience and want of ardor of his Saxon troops; and their lukewarmness during the battle had been observed by many. The army was, therefore, astonished to hear of an order of the day from Bernadotte, ascribing to the troops under his command the principal merit of the victory of Wagram. The moment Napoleon was informed of it, he sent for the marshal, and removed him from the command of his troops: Bernadotte, insisting on the justice of the congratulations which he had addressed to the Saxons, caused them to be inserted in the public papers. The

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emperor, indignant at this impropriety, issued an order of the day, which he directed not to be circulated among the army at large, nor among the Saxon troops.

"ORDER OF THE DAY.

"*From our Imperial Camp at Schönbrunn,*
"*the 11th of July,* 1809.

"His majesty expresses to marshal, the prince of Ponte-Corvo, his displeasure at the order of the day from the latter, bearing date Leopoldau, the 7th of July, which has been inserted simultaneously in almost all the newspapers, and is of the following tenor:—

"'SAXONS: In the battle of the 5th of July, seven or eight thousand of your nation pierced through the centre of the enemy's army, and penetrated as far as Deutsch-Wagram, notwithstanding the opposition of forty thousand men, supported by fifty pieces of cannon: you fought until midnight, and bivouacked in the heart of the Austrian lines. On the 6th, at daybreak, the battle recommenced on your part with the same obstinacy; and in the midst of the havoc created by the hostile artillery, your living columns remained as firm as brass. The great Napoleon witnessed your devoted valor: he reckons you in the number of his gallant soldiers. Saxons! the soldier's fortune consists in fulfilling his duties: you have worthily performed those that devolved upon you. The marshal in command of the ninth corps,

"'BERNADOTTE.

"'*Bivouac of Leopoldau, the 7th of July,* 1809.'

"Independently of the circumstance that his majesty commands his army in person, it belongs to him alone to assign to each one the share of glory to which he may be entitled. His majesty is indebted to the French troops, and not to any foreign soldiers, for the success of his arms. The order of the day of the prince of Ponte-Corvo, which has a tendency to give false pretensions to troops of a secondary description, to say the least of them, is opposed to truth, to policy, and to the national honor. The success of the battle of the 5th is due to the corps of marshals the duke of Rivoli and

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Oudinot, who pierced through the enemy's centre, while the corps of the duke of Auerstadt was turning their left. The village of Deutsch-Wagram was not in our possession on the 5th: that village was certainly carried, but not until the 6th at noon, by the corps of Marshal Oudinot. The corps of the prince of Ponte-Corvo did not remain *as firm as brass:* it was the first to give way. His majesty was obliged to have it protected by the corps of the viceroy, by Broussier's and La Marque's divisions, commanded by Marshal Macdonald, by a division of heavy cavalry under the orders of General Nansouty, and by part of the cavalry of the guards. To that marshal, and to his troops, belongs the praise which the prince of Ponte-Corvo claims for himself. His majesty desires that this expression of his displeasure may serve as an example, and prevent any marshal from attributing to himself the glory that belongs to others. His majesty, however, directs that this order of the day, which might be painful to the Saxon army, shall be kept secret, although its soldiers are well aware that they have no title to the praises bestowed upon them: and he further directs that it shall merely be transmitted to the marshals commanding the several corps.

"NAPOLEON."

The prince of Ponte-Corvo returned to Paris in disgrace, and was appointed by the minister of war to command at Antwerp during the English expedition to the Scheldt. When the emperor heard of this, he ordered him to be removed, and Bessières to be sent in his stead.

The sudden death of Charles Augustus, crown prince of Sweden, on the 28th of May, 1810, opened the succession of the throne of the northern peninsula to all the intrigues of Europe. The states-general assembled

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at Orébro to nominate a successor; aud three candidates were named. The prince of Augustembourg, brother of the late crown prince, was the person most acceptable to the king and to the people: a portion of the clergy were in favor of Frederic VI., the king of Denmark; and the army were favorable to Bernadotte, who was known to them by many acts of kindness and consideration while he commanded in the north. In 1806, he had protected a Swedish corps made prisoners at Lubeck; in 1809, upon his own responsibility, he had granted an armistice to the Swedes; and while governor of Hanover and of Hamburg, had conciliated the regard of that nation with particular diligence. In the beginning of August, a vote was taken in the electoral committee, consisting of twelve, and it was found that eleven were in favor of Augustembourg, and one in favor of Bernadotte. The Swedish court and state, however, were extremely anxious to connect themselves with Napoleon, and to obtain his patronage and protection; and it was distinctly intimated to him, that the expression of a wish on his part would be decisive of the matter. At this time, there arrived at Orébro, from Gothenburg, a Frenchman of obscure pretensions and doubtful character, who circulated the intelligence that the secret wishes of the emperor were in favor of the prince of Ponte-Corvo. The effect was instantaneous: the proposals of the electoral committee were annulled; the king presented Bernadotte a second time to the diet, as the candidate upon whom all votes ought to unite; a new electoral committee was appointed, in which the French marshal received ten votes out of twelve; and on the 21st of August, 1810, he was elected prince royal of Sweden, under the name of Charles John.

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Napoleon afterward strongly disavowed this agent, and there seems no reason to doubt that Bernadotte's election was disagreeable to him; but whether this person acted upon his own responsibility, or, which is most probable, was an emissary of Bernadotte's, is to this day wholly unexplained; and the influences by which this election was decided, form one of the most curious and perplexing problems in modern European politics. Napoleon, however, willing, if possible, to gain a friend and ally upon the throne of Sweden, gave Bernadotte his consent to become king, and advanced him a loan of a million of francs. When the marshal, upon the eve of his departure, came to receive the letters of emancipation which had been promised him, Napoleon announced to him that, by a decision of the council, they would not be delivered to him until he had signed an engagement never to bear arms against France. Bernadotte refused, alleging that he had become a subject of the king of Sweden: "Well," replied Napoleon, abruptly, "go, and let our destinies be accomplished." Bernadotte set out, and travelling with great haste, from fear lest an order of recal might be sent after him, arrived at Elsinore on the 19th of October, 1810.

The policy of the Swedish court, under Bernadotte's influence, was cautious, wise, and patriotic. The power of Napoleon, at first, was too formidable to be resisted; and in compliance with his dictation and command, war was declared against England by Sweden in November, 1810. The commercial results, however, soon proved too disastrous to the kingdom to allow hostilities to be continued; and the tyranny and violence of the emperor during the next two years, showed so clearly that he was willing utterly to sacrifice Sweden to his own

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interests and passions, that all obligations of gratitude or friendship were discharged toward such a despot. On the 5th of April, 1812, a treaty was concluded between Sweden and Russia, by which the former engaged, in the event of a war with France, to assist with thirty thousand men, who were to operate with Russia in the north of Germany: and on the 12th of July, 1812, a treaty of peace was concluded between Great Britain and Sweden. Thus was formed the league which, in 1813, destroyed Napoleon in Saxony. His intervention in that campaign had the most decisive effect upon the fortunes of his ancient master; yet his operations were cautious, moderate, and interested, showing, that he sought to repress the power of Napoleon, in so far as it endangered himself, rather than contribute to the entire restoration of the old monarchical system of policy.

Upon the resumption of hostilities, after the armistice of Plesswitz, Bernadotte advanced in the direction of Berlin at the head of twenty-eight thousand Swedish troops and twenty-five thousand Hanoverians, and entered into communication with the Russian and Prussian forces under Winzingerode and Bulow. In August, Marshal Oudinot was despatched by Napoleon to meet him; and on the 23d of that month, was signally defeated at Gros-Beeren: a disaster which proved, perhaps, more injurious to Napoleon than any event which occurred in that campaign before the battle of Leipsig. On the 4th of September, Bernadotte established his headquarters at Rabenstein, near the Elbe. Marshal Ney was now sent to take the place of Oudinot: and he sustained, on the 6th of September, at Dennewitz, an overthrow and rout not less decisive than his predecessor had met with. The crown-prince in these great

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battles displayed conspicuous ability; but the allies were dissatisfied by the languor and indifference with which he pursued his advantages. At the battle of Leipsig, Bernadotte did not arrive in time to take part in the engagement on the 16th; but, by the earnest efforts of the English minister, Sir Charles Stewart, he was brought upon the field on the 17th: and on the 18th of October, he combated valiantly, in conjunction with Blucher, against Ney on the north of the city.

In 1814, Bernadotte visited Paris, then in possession of the allies, and entertained hopes of being made king of France; but he received from his old friends nothing but expressions of disapprobation and disgust. He returned through Brussels to Sweden, and reached Stockholm on the 10th of June. Upon the landing of Napoleon in the bay of Juan, Sweden wholly refused to take part in the new coalition against France. The former alliance, it was declared, had been terminated by the treaty of Paris; and to engage again in a remote contest, Bernadotte wrote, "would be to expose ourselves to the greatest losses, without the prospect of any compensation, even in case of complete success."

To trace the history of Bernadotte as king of Sweden, would be foreign to a book relating only to the marshals of France. It remains only to say, that, on the 5th of February, 1818, he succeeded to the throne of Sweden and Norway, under the name of Charles XIV. John; and after a reign of more than a quarter of a century, died on the 8th of March, 1844, in the eighty-second year of his age. He was succeeded by his only son, whose name, Oscar, served as a monument of his imperial godfather's youthful admiration of Ossian.

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CHARLES PETER FRANCIS AUGEREAU.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE.

DUKE OF CASTIGLIONE.

Charles Peter Francis Augereau, was born on the 21st of October, 1757, in Paris, in the faubourg Saint-Marceau, where his father followed the calling of a fruit-merchant. He entered the army as a private soldier, in 1774; and had attained such distinction for his knowledge of the use of arms, that, in 1787, he was selected to go to Naples, to instruct the Neapolitan troops. In 1791, he was appointed adjutant-major in the Germanic legion; and rapidly rising through the grades of captain, in the eleventh regiment of hussars, and colonel, he was made a general of division, in 1793, in which capacity he served with great distinction in the eastern Pyrenees, under Dugommier and Perignon. In the celebrated attack upon the entrenched camp at Figueras, in November, 1794, Augereau commanded the right wing, and displayed the most extraordinary courage and perseverance. At Bezalu, in 1795, he acquired great celebrity, for the success with which, at the head of a small force, he repulsed the Spanish army. Upon the conclusion of peace with Spain, in July of that year, he led his division to the army of Italy, and served under Scherer.

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taking a prominent part in the battle of Loano, in the month of November. Napoleon found him in that army, when he took the command, in March, 1796; and, from the day of Millesimo, where he first came into action, to that at Arcole, where his daring and devotedness were eminently conspicuous, Augereau is identified with the brightest glory of the Italian campaign. At Castiglione, in particular, where he sustained the principal attack of the Austrian army, he exhibited the most obstinate firmness, in a moment the most critical, perhaps, in the whole war. "It was to reward Augereau's conduct at Lonato," says Napoleon in his memoirs, "when he commanded the right and was ordered to attack Castiglione, that he was afterward made a duke with that title. That day was the most brilliant of General Augereau's life, nor did Napoleon ever forget it."

When the conspiracy which ended in the revolution of the 18th of Fructidor, was approaching its crisis, Augereau was sent up to Paris, by Napoleon, under pretence of carrying to the directory some flags which had been captured at the fall of Mantua, and which Bessières had not taken with him. He carried, also, the addresses of the army. "Bonaparte made choice of Augereau," says Bourrienne, "because he knew his stanch republican principles, his boldness, and his deficiency of political talent. He thought him well calculated to aid a commotion, which his own presence with the army of Italy, prevented him from directing in person; and Augereau, besides, was not an ambitious rival, who might turn events to his own advantage." The directory made him governor of the seventeenth military division, which included Paris and its environs;

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and he enforced the change of the 18th of Fructidor, in the same manner that Napoleon had effected that of the 13th of Vendemiare.

At the close of the year 1797, upon the death of Hoche, and the discredit of Moreau, the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, and of the Rhine, were united in one, and the supreme command given to Augereau. "He was incapable," says Napoleon, "of conducting himself in this capacity, being uninformed, of a narrow intellect, and little education: but he maintained order and discipline among his soldiers, and was beloved by them. His attacks were regular, and made in an orderly manner; he divided his columns judiciously, placed his reserves with skill, and fought with intrepidity: but all this lasted but a day; victor or vanquished, he was generally disheartened in the evening; whether it arose from the peculiarity of his temper, or from the deficiency of his mind in foresight and penetration."

In politics, Augereau was a thorough Jacobin, and was extremely fond of taking part in civil affairs, for which, however, he was wholly incompetent. In 1798, he was elected a member of the council of five hundred; and became identified with the party of Babœuf, and the society of the Manége. He was in this position when Napoleon arrived from Egypt: and, the latter, wishing to keep himself clear of that party, did not apply to Augereau for the occasion of the 18th of Brumaire. On that day, however, he came with Jourdan to Napoleon while the troops were passing in review; and Napoleon advised them to remain quiet, and not to obliterate the memory of the services which they had rendered the country. Augereau assured

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him of his devotion, and of his desire to march under his command; adding, "What! general, do you not still rely upon your little Augereau?" Napoleon, however, did not make use of his services, and he remained a spectator of the events of the 19th of Brumaire.

Under the consulate, Augereau received, in 1800, the command-in-chief of the French army in Holland, and co-operated, in that year and the next, with Moreau until the conclusion of the campaign of Hohenlinden: and, in 1803, he was placed in command of the camp at Bayonne, assembled for the invasion of Portugal. On the 19th of May, 1804, Augereau was created a marshal of the empire, and a grand-officer of the legion of honor; and, in 1805, was made grand-eagle of that order, and grand-dignitary of the crown of iron. In the campaigns of 1805, 1806, and 1807, Augereau commanded the seventh corps of the grand army. At the battle of Jena, where he commanded the left, he bore a very distinguished part; and at Eylau, where he sustained the onset of almost the whole Russian army, the losses of his corps were so enormous, that only a single battalion remained in each regiment. The seventh corps was, accordingly, suppressed, and its soldiers became the nucleus of the force besieging Dantzig, under Lefebvre: and Augereau, having received a shot wound in the battle, returned to France.

In 1808, Augereau was created duke of Castiglione; and, in May, 1809, was sent to supersede St. Cyr in the chief command of the seventh corps, in Catalonia. Upon his arrival in the scene of his youthful distinction, he issued an inflated and ridiculous proclamation; but the state of his health, from an attack of gout, prevented

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his displacing St. Cyr until October, when he took the direction of the siege of Gerona, which he succeeded in reducing, on the 10th of December. His success, however, was tarnished by the severity with which he treated his gallant opponent, Alvarez. After some unimportant, and unskilful movements, Augereau retired to Barcelona; and, upon the pretext of bad health, spent the most of his time in the palace, suffering the military affairs of the country to fall into disorder and confusion, and vainly attempting, by harsh and cruel ordinances, to correct the mischiefs of his own inattention. In 1810, he was recalled by the emperor, and Macdonald sent to take his place.

In 1812, Augereau was placed in command of the eleventh corps of the grand army, which did not advance into Russia; but, in 1813, he took part in the campaign of Saxony, and was present at the battle of Leipsig.

In the winter of 1813–'14, when Napoleon, with the heroism worthy of the imperial crown which he had assumed, drew his lines of defence around France, Augereau was stationed at Lyons. His orders were, to collect, at that point, as large a force as possible, to oppose, in the first instance, General Bubna, who was approaching through Switzerland, and then to fall upon the flank and rear of the allies, whom the emperor was opposing in front. Augereau arrived from Paris and took the command on the 14th of January, 1814, and organized a corps of twenty thousand men. But his operations were feeble and injudicious: instead of the bold assault upon the line of the allies' march, which Napoleon had dictated, he occupied himself with a series of movements having relation to Bubna alone.

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In vain, Napoleon wrote to him, "Unite your troops in one column, and march into the Pays de Vaud; forget that you are fifty-six years old, and think only of your brilliant days at Castiglione;" he seemed incapable of comprehending the part he was to play in the grand scheme which the emperor had conceived for the repulse of the allied armies, and he lost the opportunity of saving the empire. On the 20th of March, he was signally defeated, at Limonet; and Lyons fell, at once, into the hands of the Austrians.

Augereau, gloomy and bitter in his temper, and full of republican jealousy, had never ceased to hate the character and policy of the emperor, whom he now took occasion to insult, with a brutality as cowardly as it was ungrateful. He was one of the first to send in his adhesion to the provisional government, and on the 16th of April, at Valence, he issued the following order of the day: "Soldiers! the senate, the rightful interpreter of the national will, worn out by the despotism of Bonaparte, pronounced, on the 2d of April, the dethronement of himself and family. A new dynasty, strong and liberal, descended from our ancient kings, will replace Bonaparte and his despotism. Soldiers! you are absolved from your oaths: you are so by the nation, in which the sovereignty resides: you are more so, were it necessary, by the abdication of a man, who, after having sacrificed millions to his cruel ambition, has not known how to die like a soldier." On the 24th, Napoleon having passed through Lyons, on his way to Elba, met Augereau at a little distance from Valence. Either he had not heard of the proclamation, or, which is more probable, he affected to overlook it. He stopped his carriage and alighted; Au-

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gereau did the same, and they cordially embraced. It was observed that in saluting, Napoleon took off his hat, and Augereau kept his on. "Where are you going? To court?" said Napoleon.—"No, I am going to Lyons."—"You have behaved very badly to me," said Napoleon, addressing him in the second personal singular.—"Of what do you complain?" replied Augereau, with the same familiarity. "Has not your insatiable ambition brought us to this? Have you not sacrificed everything, even the happiness of France, to that ambition? I care no more for the Bourbons than you do: all that I care for, is the country." Napoleon then turned sharply away from the soldier whom he had made a marshal and a duke, lifted his hat, and stepped into his carriage. The persons around were disgusted, at seeing Augereau remain standing in the road, covered, with his hands behind his back, and instead of bowing, making merely a disdainful salutation to Napoleon with his hand. When Augereau had taken his leave, one of the allied commissioners expressed his surprise that the emperor should have treated him with such an appearance of friendship and confidence. "Why should I not?" said Napoleon. "Your majesty is, perhaps, not aware of his conduct?"—"What has he done?"—"Sire, he entered into an understanding with us several weeks ago."—"It was even so," said Napoleon, at St. Helena, when recounting these circumstances; "he whom I had intrusted with the defence of France, on this point, sacrificed and betrayed the country. The marshal was no longer the soldier. His early courage and virtues had raised him above the multitude; but honors, dignities, and fortune, again reduced him to the common level. The conqueror of Castig-

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lione might have left behind him a name dear to his country. But France will execrate the memory of the traitor of Lyons."

Upon the establishment of the Bourbons, in 1814, Augereau was made governor of the fourteenth military division, a peer of France, and a knight of the order of St. Louis. Upon Napoleon's landing, near Cannes, his proclamations denounced Augereau and Marmont, as the traitorous authors of the misfortune of the previous year. His proclamation to the French people, dated in the "Bay of Juan, March 1, 1815," opens as follows: "Frenchmen! the defection of the duke of Castiglione, delivered up Lyons, without defence, to our enemies; the army, of which I confided to him the command, was, by the number of its battalions, and the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to conquer the Austrian corps opposed to it, and to place itself upon the rear of the left wing of the enemy's army, which threatened Paris." He then proceeds to refer to the successes which he had gained in that campaign, and to the treason of Marmont; and adds, "the unexpected conduct of those two generals, who betrayed, at once, their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the destiny of the war."

Augereau was sent into Normandy, by Louis XVIII.; and, though he subsequently expressed himself favorable to the emperor, he took no share in the events of the "hundred days." Upon the second restoration, he resumed his seat in the chamber of peers. He died at his estate, La Houssaye, of dropsy, on the 12th of June, 1816.

Augereau was an admirable general of division; and handled troops upon the field of battle, with remarkable

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vigor and skill. But the range of his faculties was narrow, and he was incapable of managing extensive combinations, or a prolonged and systematic plan of operations. His moral qualities, and his manners, alike, retained the traces of a vulgar and ignoble origin. His temper was harsh, uncertain, and unfeeling. "Augereau," says Las Cases, as the substance of a conversation of Napoleon's, "was a cross-grained character. He seemed to be tired and disheartened by victory, of which he always had enough. His person, his language, and his demeanor, gave him the air of a braggadocio, which, however, he was far from being. He was satiated with honors and riches, which he had received at all hands, and in all ways."

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FRANCIS JOSEPH LEFEBVRE.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, MAY 19, 1804.

DUKE OF DANTZIG.

THE station and honors of Lefebvre, formed to the world one of the most striking evidences of the republican qualities of Napoleon's empire; and never had republicanism a brighter model, or a nobler representative, than in the virtue, the integrity, the moderation of Lefebvre. The rise of such men as Murat and Soult is fitted only to confirm the prejudices of aristocracy, for their characters revolt the moral sympathies of the gazer, in the same degree in which their external lustre attracts his consideration. But, upon the career of Lefebvre, the mind rests with a pure satisfaction. His was a character of perfect dignity. Carrying forward, into the highest rank and station, the humility and modesty of his first lowly condition, he maintained his original temper and feelings, not from any jacobinical jealousy or false pride, but from native simplicity, and, because his inherent self-respect rendered him insensible to the outward distinctions, which fortune, at various times, had cast around him. Mingled in the most violent scenes of the revolution, he was neither stained nor hardened by their influence, and he carried away from that experience, only the lessons of the vanity of

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worldly pride, and the sure reliance of honest virtue. Raised to the first places of the empire, and covered with its gaudiest distinctions, rank served only to make conspicuous the higher nobleness of his own spirit, and to prove, by being lost upon his simple character, that it can add nothing to truth, to goodness, or to virtue.

Francis Joseph Lefebvre, the son of Joseph Lefebvre, and of Anna Maria Riss, was born at Ruffach, in Alsace, on the 25th of October, 1755. His father was a miller, but had served as a hussar, and at the the time of his death, commanded the *garde bourgeoise* of his place of residence. Lefebvre was but eight years old when he lost his father; but, fortunately he found in his paternal uncle, a warm friend and a judicious counsellor and protector. This worthy man was desirous that his nephew should enter the church, but the youth displayed a strong predilection for a soldier's life. His brother's appointment as an officer in the regiment of Strasbourg, fixed his determination. On the 10th of September, 1773, he entered, as a private soldier, in the regiment of the French guards, became a corporal in 1775, a sergeant in 1782, and on the 9th of April, 1788, first sergeant. He was serving in this capacity, at Paris, when the revolution broke out. In common with all his comrades, he embraced with warmth the republican principles of the day; but, always true to the feelings of humanity and justice, and fearless in asserting them, he vigorously opposed the violence of the people against the officers of his regiment, and protected them courageously against the fanaticism of the revolutionists. Upon the disbanding of the French guards, in 1789, Lefebvre entered as a sub-lieutenant in the national guard. At the head of

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a detachment of this corps, he was twice wounded: once, in protecting the return of the royal family to the Tuileries, after their unsuccessful attempt to reach Saint-Cloud; and, a second time, in aiding the king's aunts to effect their retirement to Rome. For these services, he received the thanks of the royal family.

Leaving these unwelcome scenes of violence and cruelty, Lefebvre entered the regular army, on the 3d of September, 1793; and, as captain of the thirteenth battalion of light infantry, he served in the army of the Moselle, and quickly rose to the rank of major and adjutant-general. Passing into the army of Mayence, he attained the rank of brigadier-general, on the 2d of December, in that year. After the combats of Lambach and Giesberg, he was made a general of division; and, usually in command of the advanced guard, his name appears conspicuously in all the operations in Germany, until 1798. Active, enterprising, though not of the highest military genius, he was at all times noted for sound judgment, presence of mind, coolness in the midst of danger, and an immovable firmness. At Fleurus, when two thirds of the French army was in rapid and disorderly retreat, Lefebvre swore that he would die sooner than retire, and his resolution inspired the soldiers with so much firmness and courage, that they repulsed three vigorous attacks, led by Beaulieu and Prince Charles, in person. In the midst of the danger, a powder-wagon, struck by a bomb-shell, exploded in the centre of the French columns, and the soldiers, dismayed by the terrible occurrence, cried out loudly for an order to retreat. "Retreat!" cried Lefebvre, "when we may fight and die with glory? No, no; no retreat!" These words were re-echoed along the

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lines; and the men, reanimated by the ardor of their commander, rushed forward against the Austrians, and finally gained the day. At the battle of Altenhoven, he exhibited one of those traits of gentleness and humanity, which sit so gracefully upon a bravery so fierce as his. On the 2d of October, 1794, the inhabitants of the town of Linnich, devoted to the flames by the vanquished Austrians, came out to implore the generosity of the conquerors. Lefebvre received them with kindness and sympathy, and introduced them to his soldiers; and the French army forgot its sufferings by the battle, to relieve the distresses of the unfortunate inhabitants. In the same year, when the convention sent its commissioners, to execute the law of proscription against everything tainted with the crime of noble blood, one of the representatives of the people said to Lefebvre, "General, I am aware, that, in your corps, you keep in office many persons of the patrician caste; the law has fixed the mark of reprobation upon them: point them out to me, for I must execute the commands of the government in regard to them."—"I know no persons under my orders," was Lefebvre's reply, "but warriors worthy of the country which they have defended valiantly up to this hour. I answer for them all, without the exception of a man." In consequence of this noble and resolute stand, not a person in his army was arrested.

After the passage of the Rhine, Lefebvre, in command of the advanced guard, and with such an officer as Ney to execute his orders, deserved the largest share of the honors won in the brilliant campaign which followed. At Opladen, before Hennef, at Siegburg, at Altenkirchen, at Rosbach, this general established a

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lofty and abiding reputation, for bravery and firmness. Upon the appointment of Bournonville, Lefebvre, who took part with Kleber, retired from the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and joined the forces under Hoche, upon the coast; and, when Hoche succeeded to the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, Lefebvre again resumed his old post of danger and honor in the van of the army, and upon the death of the commander-in-chief, in 1798, he was appointed provisionally, to the chief command. In Jourdan's expedition to the Danube, in 1799, Lefebvre led the advanced guard, and was at Ostrach previously to the operations which led to the battle of Stockach; and in those disastrous operations, he received a severe wound, which obliged him to withdraw from the army.

Such had been the moderation and disinterestedness of this excellent man, that, while he was thus winning the most valuable and glorious conquests for his country, his own means were so limited, that he was unable to pay his son's college expenses, and was obliged to keep the lad with him in the camp. Upon the conclusion of peace, Lefebvre wrote to the president of the directory a very characteristic letter, in which the modesty of his views, in regard to himself, and his zeal for the welfare of his fellow-soldiers, are alike conspicuous. "The definitive settlement of peace," he said, "leaves me no longer in a situation to render any essential service to my country. I pray you to grant me a pension upon which I can live decently. For that purpose, I want neither horses nor a carriage; I merely require bread. You know what I have done, as well as I do myself, and I, therefore, do not enumerate to you my victories. My frankness of temper compels me to say

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to you that I have no defeats to recount, and that the inhabitants of the conquered countries will never bear any other testimonies of me, than those of the most scrupulous probity. Before quitting the service, I am particularly desirous that the patriotism, bravery, abilities and services of my aides-de-camp and field-officers may be rewarded."

Upon his return to France, Lefebvre was received by the directory with great distinction, and appointed to the command of the seventeenth military division, of which the principal station was at Paris. The part which he sustained in the revolution of the 18th of Brumaire, as recited in the life of Napoleon, was simply that of a soldier obedient to the orders of his lawful commander-in-chief. The first consul confirmed him in the appointments which he had previously held; and on the 1st of April, 1800, bore testimony to the respectability of his character, by nominating him to the senate. On the 19th of May, 1804, Lefebvre was raised to the dignity of marshal of the empire, and, afterward, was made, successively, chief of the fifth cohort of the legion of honor, grand-officer, and grand-eagle. Upon the opening of the campaign of Ulm and Austerlitz, he was placed in command of the national guards of the Roer, and of the Rhine and Moselle, being the second corps of reserve of the grand army. In 1806, he was made one of the commanders of the imperial guard, and served with distinction at the battles of Jena and Eylau. He received orders, in 1807, to reduce the fortress of Dantzig; and with an army of sixteen thousand men, chiefly Poles and Saxons, he commenced this celebrated siege. On the 15th of May, the Russian general, Kamonski, who had approached for the purpose of reliev-

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ing the garrison, was defeated, and on the 24th of May the place surrendered. The commander, Count Kal kreuth, a soldier and friend of the great Frederic, was generously allowed the same terms which he had granted the French garrison at Mayence, fourteen years before, and marched out with all the honors of war. Kalkreuth addressed to his conqueror a letter, breathing the noblest sentiments of manly gratitude and respect.

Lefebvre had the honor of receiving the first hereditary title of nobility conferred by Napoleon, being created duke of Dantzig, on the 28th of May, 1807. "Let the title of duke," says the patent in which the rank is conferred, "descending to his children, remind them of the virtues of their sire; and let them feel that they are unworthy to bear it, if ever, in the time of war, they prefer a slothful repose, and the ease of a great city, to the toil and dust of a camp, and if ever their first feelings cease to be those of devotion to their country." In 1808, the duke of Dantzig, at the head of the fourth corps, took a leading part in the early operations of the Spanish war: he defeated Blake and Romana, at Durando, and pursuing and dispersing their armies, entered Bilboa, on the 1st of November. In the campaign of Eckmuhl and Wagram, he was placed in command of the Bavarian army, and took part in the principal actions of the war, and was efficient in the suppression of the insurrection in the Tyrol. In 1812, as a commander of the old imperial guard, he made the campaign of Russia; and, faithful to the fortunes of his master, rendered an active and zealous service in the campaign of 1814. The inspiration of duty seemed to revive in this aged soldier, the vigor

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and earnestness of the campaigns of the Rhine; and at the head of that immortal corps, which is identified for ever with the glory of the emperor, he performed those toilsome but brilliant manœuvres, which, like the gleam of a winter sunset, illustrated with ineffectual ray, the undiminished lustre of an orb, whose latest hour was its proudest.

Lefebvre remained with the emperor, at Fontainebleau, until after his abdication: he then proceeded to Paris, and was there presented to the emperor of Russia. "You were not then, under the walls of Paris, Monsieur le Marechal, when we arrived?" said Alexander to him. "No, sire," said Lefebvre, "we had the *misfortune* to be unable to reach here in time."—"The *misfortune?*" said the emperor, with a smile, "you are, then, sorry to see me here?"—"Sire," replied the soldier, "I behold with admiration and sensibility, a warrior, who in youth has learned to use victory with moderation; but it is with the deepest grief that I see a conqueror within my country."—"I respect your sentiments, Monsieur le Marechal," said the emperor, "and they only add to my esteem for you."

On the 2d of June, 1814, the king elevated Lefebvre to the rank of peer of France. Upon the return of Napoleon, the age and infirmities of the marshal rendered him incapable of taking the field; but he attended the sittings of the upper chamber, and took part in its discussions. After the second restoration, the king confirmed Lefebvre in the title of marshal, but removed him from the chamber of peers, to which, however, he was recalled in 1819, and continued to vote with the constitutional party. He died, at Paris, on the 14th of September, 1820. A few days before his death,

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feeling that his end was at hand, he went out to Père la Chaise to choose his last resting-place. He marked out a place beside Massena, and near to Marshals Perignon and Sèrrurier, and to General Lamartillière: and here, in accordance with his wishes, he was interred. Marshal Mortier pronounced a eulogy at his interment: and on the 12th of June, 1821, Suchet, duke of Albufera, delivered, in the chamber of peers, an eloquent discourse upon his merits. "To give evidence of superior ability and courage in arms, and to deliver effective blows in battle," he remarked, "suffices for the fleeting renown of a general: but posterity allots the palm of immortality, only, to those great commanders whose conduct, in subjugated countries, may be cited as examples of moderation. In the places where the glory of this hero is displayed, the laws of humanity and honor are always illustrated. At the head of warriors of various nations, Poles, Saxons, Bavarians, he inspired foreigners with all the enthusiasm and energy of Frenchmen. All of them have lamented his departure. Upon the decease of this illustrious marshal, voices of praise and regret ascended, in mingled chorus, from the banks of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Vistula."

Lefebvre and his wife, who was said to have been the daughter of a laundress, retained in elevated station the humility and simplicity of their early days, and never lost the recollection of their former obscure condition. The latter served as a standing amusement to the *parvenu* court of the emperor, which, having no true title to aristocratic pride, bore its false honors with the loftiest pretension. But her excellence of feeling and principle, and the genuine dignity of her deport-

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ment, rendered her, in truth, worthy of all reverence and admiration. The baroness Lagarde was in the habit of visiting this worthy woman, at her chateau of Combaut; and, on one occasion, Madame Lefebvre opened for her view, a cabinet in which were ranged in order, specimens of all the dresses which herself and her husband had worn since their marriage. "There," said she with a smile, "is a gallery of costumes of very different conditions of life. We have been particular in preserving them. It does no harm to look at things of that kind, as we constantly do: it secures us from the danger of forgetting the past." In one of Las Cases' conversations, at St. Helena, he related the following anecdote to the emperor. Madame Lefebvre and her husband, during their poverty, had been engaged in a domestic capacity, in the family of the marquis de Valady, the captain of the corps in which Lefebvre served. The marquis, who stood god-father to Lefebvre's child, perished, because he denounced the execution of Louis XVI. His wife, upon her return to France, after her emigration, immediately received the kindest offers and attention from the family of Lefebvre, then living in a style of credit and splendor. One day, Madame Lefebvre called upon her, and, in her usual strain of language, said, "How little kindness and goodness of heart, there is among you people of quality. We who have risen from the ranks, know our duty better. We have just heard that M., one of our old officers, and your husband's comrade, has returned from his emigration, and that he is dying of want. How shameful this is! We were fearful of offending him by offering him assistance; but the case is quite different with you. An act of service on your part

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will be gratifying to him. Pray, give him this as coming from yourself." With these words, she presented to her friend a rouleau of one hundred louis, or one thousand crowns. "From the moment that I heard this story," says Las Cases, "I felt no inclination to join in the jokes against Madame Lefebvre; I no longer entertained toward her any other feeling than that of profound respect: I eagerly advanced to take her hand whenever I met her at the Tuileries, and I felt proud in escorting her through the drawing-room, in spite of the sneers that were buzzing around me."

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KELLERMANN.

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FRANCIS CHRISTOPHER KELLERMANN.

MARSHAL OF FRANCE, MAY 19, 1804.

DUKE OF VALMY.

THE military fame of the hero of Valmy served rather as a foil to illustrate the youthful genius of Napoleon, than as a light to shed added brightness upon it; and the name of Kellermann is far better known to us by the gallantry of the son, who never rose above the rank of a general of division, than by the achievements of the father, who became a marshal of France.

Francis Christopher Kellermann was born of a respectable family at Strasbourg, on the 28th of May, 1735. At the age of seventeen, he became a cadet in the regiment of Lowendalh; and passing through the grades of ensign and lieutenant, in 1753 and 1756, became captain of dragoons, in which rank he served in the seven years' war until 1762, and was favorably mentioned in the reports of the battle of Bergen. A brilliant charge of cavalry, against a corps commanded by General Scheider, procured him, in the last year, the distinction of the cross of Saint-Louis, then an honor of the highest esteem. After the peace of 1763, he passed with the same rank into the legion of Conflans, and in 1765 and 1766, was charged by the king with the execution of some important commissions in Po-

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land. In 1771, the increasing troubles in Poland furnished a pretext for the invasion of that country by the united troops of France and the Germanic confederation; and Kellermann was appointed to accompany the French commander-in-chief of the expedition, Baron de Viomenil; and in 1772, he was placed at the head of a native corps of cavalry which he had been concerned in organizing. His conduct in the retreat from the castle of Cracow, in 1772, elevated his character for dexterity and courage. In 1780, he became lieutenant-colonel of hussars; on the 1st of January, 1784, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier; and in 1788, received the rank of major-general. In 1790, he was placed in command of both departments of Alsace, and so approved were his services in placing that frontier in a state of defence against the threatened invasion, that, in 1792, he received the cordon rouge of the order of St. Louis, and was appointed lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the forces assembled at Neukirck, and afterward, on the 28th of August, in the same year, of the army of the Moselle.

It was at this time, that the formidable invasion under the duke of Brunswick, consisting of one hundred and thirty-eight thousand men, of whom sixty-six thousand were under the king of Prussia in person, and fifty thousand were Austrians under Prince Hohenlohe and Marshal Clairfait, marched toward France, and menaced Dumouriez, who occupied the defiles of Varennes, and with very inferior forces, Kellermann, with twenty-two thousand men, marched from Metz, on the 4th of September, for Chalons with the utmost celerity, reached Bar before the Prussians, saved the magazines on the upper Saone and Marne, and put himself in a

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situation to communicate with Dumouriez. The latter general was attacked on the 16th of September, and immediately ordered Kellermann to take a designated position on his left, which was, accordingly, accomplished on the 19th. No sooner had Kellermann arrived here, than he perceived that the position was altogether defective. A pond on his right separated him from Dumouriez; the marshy river of the Auve, traversed by a single narrow bridge, cut off his retreat in the rear; and the heights of Valmy commanded his left. While he was shut up in this isolated position, the enemy might march upon the magazines at Dampierre and Voilmont, cut both the French armies off from Chalons, and then fall upon each of them in succession. Kellermann instantly resolved to rectify this error in the disposition of the troops; and by four o'clock on the following morning, his army was in motion by its rear upon Dampierre and Voilmont. But the Prussians, equally alive to the disadvantage in which Kellermann had been placed, were already in movement to attack him, and it became impracticable to pass the Auve. Leaving his advanced-guard and his reserve to check the Prussians on the plain, Kellermann drew off the rest of his army to the heights of Valmy, and placing a battery of eighteen pieces near the mill of Valmy, at seven in the morning was drawn up in a strong position to receive the attack of the enemy. The king of Prussia, who commanded in person, drew up his army in three columns on the heights of La Lune, and advancing in an oblique direction, a vehement fire was kept up on both sides for two hours. About nine, a new battery on the enemy's right suddenly opened in the direction of the mill, near which

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Kellermann and his escort, with the reserve cuirassiers, were stationed, and produced the utmost confusion. Most of the escort were killed or wounded, and Kellermann had a horse shot under him, while about the same time the explosion of two caissons of ammunition near the mill added to the alarm. Kellermann, however, quickly disposed a battery so as to return the fire, and the battle was restored on that side. After some time, two of the Prussian columns, flanked by a powerful cavalry, advanced in a formidable array toward the mill, while the third remained in reserve. Kellermann drew up his men in column by battalions, and advancing his reserved artillery to the front of his position, waited the advance of the enemy, who approached in silence. When they were within range of a destructive fire, Kellermann, waving his hat upon the end of his sabre, shouted, "Vive la Nation!" to which the whole army responded with enthusiastic cries; and at the same moment, the artillery opened a tremendous volley. The Prussians halted; the heads of their columns melted away under the galling discharges; and they retreated, in good order, to their original position after sustaining a serious loss. The fire, however, continued on both sides with spirit; and about four o'clock in the afternoon, the Prussians renewed their attack in column, but were again repulsed, even more decidedly, and by six in the evening were in full retreat. The victory was thus decided in favor of the French; but the safety of the magazines at Dampierre and Voilmont was still not secured.

Kellermann allowed his army about two hours' repose, and then, leaving large fires lighted along his whole line, and some regiments of light cavalry to de-

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fend the position, if the enemy should attempt an attack, he quietly drew off about nine o'clock at night, and reached Dampierre without the enemy being aware of his movement. About six o'clock the next morning, the Prussians marched for the same point; and were not a little astonished to find Kellermann's army drawn up in line of battle on the heights of Dampierre, in a position which rendered it impracticable to attack. They immediately retreated, and their retiring columns suffered severely from a fire opened by the French artillery. This operation raised the reputation of Kellermann to an exalted height. The allies soon afterward retreated from France, and Kellermann desired to attack their rear; but Dumouriez would not allow the movement to be made.

In recompense of these services, Kellermann was made commander-in-chief of the army of the Alps; but incurring the jealousy of the ruling faction, he was thrown into prison in June, 1793, and lingered there for thirteen months, until the 9th Thermidor (27th of July, 1794) restored him to liberty. In 1795, the army of Italy was reincorporated with the army of the Alps, from which it had been separated in the beginning of 1793; and the command of the united force was given to Kellermann at the close of that month. On his way to Nice to take the command, he met Napoleon at Marseilles, who, having been displaced by the reconstruction of the army, was now visiting his mother at that place on his way to Paris. Napoleon gave him much valuable information respecting the seat of war; and Kellermann, continuing his journey, reached headquarters at Nice on the 9th of May, 1795. His operations during the campaign that followed diminished

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